

THE
MODERN INDEPENDENT
WHIG,
A POEM,
IN FOUR CANTO's,

BY

CRAMBO CHANTOR.

A Verse may catch him, who a Sermon flies,
And turn delight into a Sacrifice.

YOUNG.

————— From corrupt intent,
In guise of Loyalty, by trait'rous wiles
Of Royal grace possess'd ; from Faction, arm'd
With brand at random flaring, to protect
Against oppressions air-embattl'd ranks
Her thankless Country —————

ESSAY ON HAPPINESS. B. 4.

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MODERN AMERICAN

W. H. I.

OLD

TO THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE.

MOST POTENT SOVEREIGN,

WHOEVER thou art, and wheresoever to be found ; for like the Prince of the air, who smote the four corners of the house, and buried Job's children in the ruins ; thou art the Author of political, as well as of elemental commotions ; making Tyrants to tremble at thy presence : And for this thy tremendous power, thou art indebted neither to paternal or maternal pedigree ; and so like the King of Salem, *without Father, and without Mother* : Or rather like the King of the Gipsies ; whose prerogative is ubiquity, whose residence is uncertainty ; and whose revenue is surreption.

Whether thou presideest over the best, or over the basest of the people ; over the Whig Reformers of the North ; or the White-Boy regulators of the South. Whether thou fitteest as moderator in the Synods of republicans, or as chairman in the asso-

ciations of the seditious.—Wheresoever thou art seated, and however occupied; whilst other *Majesty's of the People* are subverting of Monarchies, and raising beggars from the dunghill to seat them among Princes; thus forming, as it were, a new creation; like that of animating Pedlars, Pettyfoggers, and Pick-pockets; into Captains, Colonels, and Generals.—Whilst other *Majesty's of the People*, are abolishing titles, invading property and cutting of throats; vouchsafe, tremendous Sire, to consider this thy country as the generative parent of science; and to take under thy protection this effort of genius;—this poetical chronicle of the celebrated acts of thy Diplomatic Plenipotentiaries.—Extend thy sceptre with benignity over it; and shelter it from those shafts of criticism, which are perpetually levelled at works of such superlative merit.

The people, who are always unerring in their favours, must have communicated some share of their rectitude to the *Majesty* of their own creation. And it is on this presumption that I claim your patronage; not building so much on the merit of this work; as on being the *Flagellum*, to whip the tyrants of despotism into conservitors of Human Rights; and that strips the temporary patriot of his hypocritical cloak, exposing the trembling culprit in his naked deformity, to the infatuated eye of the publick.

He

He who employs his talents in thus disabusing the publick, must expect but few friends, Knaves and Fools, Whigs and Tories ; men of all descriptions, and of no description, will unite in a formidable phalanx against him ; which none but *the Majesty of the People* can, and which in justice, he ought to oppose with all the authority vested in him by his Creators :—And if thou smilest, where is the hardy mortal, who shall dare to frown on this production of the *Muses* and the *Graces* ?—Avaunt then, ye Critical Reviewers, and dread that power which manifested itself in the Neapolitan *Messianello* ; in the British *Cade* ; in the *Anti-Catholick Gordonites* ; and in the *Anti-Papistical Saints of Boston*.

I shall not attempt to bias you in my favour by eulogies on your literary abilities. I own I have but a very slender opinion of your judgment, because your Creators had but a small share, if any, to invest you with. But it was not their business to make you wise ; but to prevent you from being a fool, in yielding pre-eminence to a Constitutional King, whom they are endeavouring to root out of the affections of the people.

Hence the subscription of your Whig subjects, for the cheap circulation of *the Rights of Men*, evidently calculated to cut down Royalty, and to propagate Republicanism ; which, I must confess, is a species of Whig casuistry above my acumen, to reconcile with their professions of allegiance, to

the person seated on the throne of these realms, in consequence of the Revolution ; and against whom the shafts of acrimonious disaffection are pointedly aimed.

But your ministers are not obliged to level their politics to every low capacity. Every body knows that the publick opinion is always right ; and that the opinion of modern Whigs is the public opinion ; because they are the only wise and virtuous men in the kingdom. Every thing therefore that is incomprehensible to Tory Royalists, must be solved by this maxim ; and resolved in the arcana of the unerring wisdom of those your Majesty's Privy Council.

As for your *Prime Minister Pain*, I hope your Majesty will not be offended if I take the liberty to point out an instance or two in which he seems to me somewhat Paradoxical, and I will venture to say Ridiculous.

In the first place he charges Mr. Burke with *incivility in troubling himself about the French Revolution, when neither the People of France, nor the National Assembly were troubling themselves about the affairs of England* ; and yet before he had occasion to dip his pen in the ink-stand, he justifies the two Societies of England known by the name of *The Revolution and Constitutional Societies* ; and of course *The Whig-Clubs of Ireland* in their address to the National Assembly of France : when this assembly
knew

knew nothing at all, nor were concerning themselves about those Societies.

The Second Inconsistency is that of his charging Mr. Burke with *loading the French and National Assembly with every Epithet of abuse that rancour, prejudice, or ignorance could suggest*; whilst He himself makes no scruple in pouring the most petulant, and flippant abuse on Mr. Burke—stiling him *The Author of absurdities—A Venerator of Power, without idea of principles—A distorter of supposed facts into real falsehoods*; in plain English *A Liar.—A Madman outraging his own imaginations.—Devoid of the genuine Soul of Nature.—A Friend to Arbitray Power, to the Pope, and to the Bastile.—And shortening his journey to Rome.*

Now if there are any epithets in the English language more scandalous than these; we must search the vocabulary of Billings-gate for them.—And unless the Author of *The Rights of Man* has reserved some rights *in petto* for himself, I should consider them as the Rights of Man in his savage and unsocial state, they are certainly not consistent with a polished literary antagonist.

But great Patriots like great Bouncers, have need of great memories; or like great poets should be indulged with great liberties. Defamation is the soul of such people, which expands in its several operations into endless contentions. They wrangle with chicane, are regardless of rule or decorum; are negligent of the incidents and circumstances

circumstances of Governments; influenced by the wildest rhetorical policy; and arguing from general notions rather than from practical observations on associated beings.

His attempt to trace *The Rights of Man* up to Adam is perfectly ridiculous. They are not deducible from human nature. Whether we consider the account of the creation in an *allegorical* or *literal* sense: Moses mentions no rights conferred on Adam by the Creator; but such as are possessed at this day by his Descendants in their unpolished and uncivilized state; and are common even to the irrational creation; that is the liberty of ranging uncontrouled, and collecting their food from the fruits of the earth; and indulging the animal propensities to the full extent of their strength or stratagem. Adam when he came out of his Maker's hands did not so much as know the difference between *Good and Evil*; and when by the effects of his transgression, he had been taught the difference; instead of receiving any additional rights; he was curtailed in those he had originally received being drove out of Paradise and excluded from *The Tree of Life*.

What then are the *Rights* derived from Adam? Why truly to be called *Man*. *God said let us make Man*. He did not say let us make a *Lord* or a *King*; therefore Lords and Kings are Novil and Insignificant things; and such distinctions are infringements on *The Rights of Man*.—A wonderful

ful discovery this! To be equalled only by the frivolous nonsense of the Dutch Casuist who found out, and insisted upon it, that the language of Paradise was *High Dutch*.

Thus your Prime Minister Pain, instead of asserting the particular; plunges at once into the general *Rights of Man*; puzzling the subject by false Hypotheses, and entangling the reader with Utopian chimeras, instead of descending to the empire of laws peculiar to common-wealths, by which the rights of all men in a social state are limited; and where the chief difficulty and strength of the argument lies.

But in this he has run in a great measure upon the principles of Harrington, and has manifested himself so thorough paced a plagiarist that there is scarce a political Idea to be found in *The Rights of Man* which has not been advanced in *the Oceana*; *The Grounds of Monarchy*; or *the Prerogative of Popular Government*, published by that common-wealth's man under the usurpation of Cromwel.

I expect from these strictures on your Prime Minister, to be stigmatized by your Whig privy council as a *Tory*. But as I know not what is precisely meant by *Whig and Tory*; and consider them here not as Principles but as Personals opposed to each other by the frowns or favours of Government, I shall give myself no concern about any obliquity that may be couched in the appellation. But I hope your Majesty will not deny me

that mental freedom of which you are said to be the promoter. I shall therefore venture to give you my political creed and principles; that you may judge in what rank of Citizens to place me.

In the first place then I am persuaded that Freedom is not always a concomitant of Commonwealth. On the contrary that the usurpation of Cromwel was so tyrannical that the people found themselves cheated in their expectations; and suffering heavier grievances than those which brought on the dissolution of Monarchy; were forced to recur to the exploded constitution again.

I am also persuaded that England, though a Kingdom is a Commonwealth, the freest and best constituted in the world; the three estates governing, and being themselves governed, by the laws of the realm. I am so sensible of the blessings derived to us by the *Revolution*, that no man can be more thankful to Providence, nor can have a higher esteem for the memory of those real Patriots by whom it was brought about: And notwithstanding the disadvantageous light your Prime Minister Pain has placed it in, when compared with what he calls *the Luminous Revolution of France and America*: (these being but ricketty Brats only in the cradle of existence, with constitutions too hectic to arrive at maturity) I declare that I am so well satisfied with the superlative excellence of our own, that I cannot consider him as a real friend of his country

country who wishes, and is labouring to bring about another *Revolution*.

I consider those men, who are attempting to raise discontent, at a time, when we are blessed with the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberties, as governed by disgust, more than by the impulse of moral rectitude. I look upon those men, who were the professed advocates and abettors, for making the American Colonies independent of Great Britain, as enemies to all regal government; wishing only for an opportunity to sap our present Constitution: and artfully striving, at this juncture, to foment jealousies between Government and the Roman Catholick subjects; not from an attachment to either, but as the only means to effectuate their republican views.

Such are my principles, and such my political Creed.

That we have men of this political complexion amongst us, is a position sufficiently supported by their practice; but in what Club or Society they are to be found, is a point, that I shall refer to the scrutiny of those whom it may concern. Toasts, couched in rancorous suspicions; groundless insinuations; republican reflections; and insidious apprehensions, are a kind of drunken politics, highly characteristic of disaffection; and when accompanied with indiscriminate opprobrium on all Kings and their officers; this favours as strong of Pain; as Pain himself does of the American Pole-Cat,

Cat, which sends from it a stink intolerable to all creatures, but those of its own species. Thus the Author of *the Rights of Man*, by his petulant acrimony, stinks himself into the contempt of *the Author of the Sublime*, and the friend of the British Constitution, who turns his back upon him with abhorrence of his Stercoracious pen. In short, however, the followers of your Prime Minister, may attach to themselves the appellation of *virtuous*; they are but a faction, wearing the cloaks of Patriotism.

It is not being chosen by a majority of voices, and wearing a uniform, in consequence of that choice, that constitutes the true Whig. It is not the holding a place, or possessing a pension under Government, that makes the Tory. It is not the attendance at the Castle, or keeping from it, that denotes the disinterestedness of the Citizen; for some men have, notwithstanding all these things, fallen off in the day of temptation; and have run away with a larger share of public eclat, than their principles deserved. Therefore, to prevent such dupery for the future, and to secure the publick favour to those only who are best entitled to them, and least likely to forfeit them by desertion; I shall beg leave to prescribe a few rules for the observation of the several Whig Clubs, in the future choice of their members.

First, Then I propose that every man who now is, or hereafter may be chosen a Whig, shall promise
and

and vow, that he will relinquish the interest of himself and family, in order to forward the views and resolves of the Club.

Secondly. That if any member has a place or pension under Government, he shall not resign it as long as he can keep it, but he shall divide it amongst those who are proclaiming your Majesty through the kingdom; and who are serving the publick, by traducing the Ministry, and reprobating the measures of Government.

Thirdly. If any Member has a seat in Parliament, he must apply to the Club for directions how to vote and act, and must implicitly follow such directions as are given them.

Fourthly. That every Member must oppose the Ministry, without entering into a disquisition, in respect to the propriety of their conduct; and must always make use of the epithets, *treacherous, corrupt, and detested Ministry*.

Fifthly. They must profess a great tenderness for religious opinions; and manifest a brotherly affection for every Worshiper of God, except those of the established Church; particularly the Clergy, whom they must reprobate as abettors of Despotism; and oppressors of the poor, because they are the friends of monarchy, and supported by the laws of the realm.

Sixthly. That though in all Governments there is a National Religion, which may be called the National Conscience; yet, they must insist upon

on it, that their party conscience is the best, and whilst they give themselves up to be led by it, they must condemn all public leading in religion, and declare, that they are robbed of a right vested in them by their Creator, by the preference given to the Established Religion.

But the more effectually to exclude all sham Patriots, who are no better than Court Spies; I shall beg leave to make another proposal; the hint of which, I have taken from the history of Cook's voyage, where we are told, that some of the Inhabitants of Nootka, made an incision in the under lip, so that a man could thrust his tongue through it, which gave him the appearance of having two mouths. Such a mark, in my opinion, would be a happy characteristic of men, who find it necessary to be double-tongued, or double-mouthed, which are equally symbolical expressions for Whig-Craft, stigmatized by Tories, with the name of Hypocrisy, from their profession of allegiance to your Majesty, and the Constitutional King seated on the Throne.

Now, when I consider, that this is done by a nation of Savages; and that even delicate and timorous women comply with it, for no beneficial cause that has come to our knowledge, (unless they are the Whigs of that nation) I cannot suppose, that any objection will be made to the pain attending the operation, when it is done in so glorious a cause, as that of stripping Tories of places and pensions,

sions, and procuring them for Whigs ; and what is still more glorious, that of changing the heavy, expensive, and superstitious tramels of Episcopacy ; for the light, more spiritual, and less chargable discipline of an Independent Conventicle.

But, besides keeping false Brethren out, this will be a means of letting none but very zealous ones in ; as none but men of the staunchest modern Whig principles, will chuse to wear so conspicuous and indelible a mark of his attachment. For what Butler observes, in respect to a Lover, may in this case, be fitly applied to the Whig,—viz.

He who drowns, or beats out his brains,
The Devil's in him, if he feigns.

Therefore upon all electioneering occasions, a man so distinguished, may be safely trusted with a commission of the most delicate or desperate nature ; with all the hopes of success, and without any of the fears of treachery in the execution.

Such an act as this will effectually silence the slanderous tongues of Government Minions ; who accuse the Whigs as a selfish set of turbulent impostors : And it will manifest the purity of their patriotism better than all the eloquence of their senatorial advocates. It will shew that the feeble remains of that virtue, which is the vital principle of a free State ; and which has long been verging to the last stage of its mortal Hectic, rests entirely with the Whigs : That all their bustle is to re-
move

move the corruption which has almost smothered it; and apply the only drastic that can restore it to its full vigour and operative energy.

It will also give the Whigs an exclusive right to brand whom they think proper *as fools and knaves*: To charge the Ministry and Parliament with a premeditated design to ruin the Kingdom: And to insist upon it that publick ruin must be the result of securing such Patriots from the management of affairs. In short it will give them every advantage over the Ministry they can wish for. They may rail and calumniate; lie and bounce, resolve and toast; and have only to thrust their tongues through their artificial mouths to demonstrate that it is all Patriotism: And that as *Circumcision* marked the Pharisee as the Disciple of Moses; so *Labiacion* marked the Whig as the zealous Disciple of *Price, Pain, and Priestly*; whose political principles alone form the modern Whig and genuine Son of Freedom.

Now after this ingenious device to distinguish the adherents to your invisible and incomprehensible Majesty; who are revered by the Whigs as *the Unknown God* was by the bewildered Athenians; and bowed down to by the Tories with that awe with which Indians worship *the Devil* through dread of his works of darkness. After this witty contrivance to fix so conspicuous a mark of supereminence on your Partizans, as there can be no doubt of the estimation in which

I hold

I hold your patriotic virtues ; I shall hope to be gratified by you in a small favour. I am not so vain as to expect a Subscription for the cheap circulation of this Poem ; neither am I so avaricious as to ask for a publick Doucier of fifty thousand pounds ; tho' others have been so gratified for less beneficial services. I am more of a *Cincinnatus* than to be a perpetual burthen to the publick. The height of my ambition is, upon a Vacancy, to be appointed *Poet Laureat* to your Majesty ; and, untill there is a Vacancy, to be constituted *Toast-Coiner and Resolve-Writer-General* to all the patriotic associations of Ireland. By the frivolous similarity of *Toasts* and *Resolves* ; it is evident such an officer is much wanted ; and I promise you, as an inducement to your appointing me, that nobody will execute the office with more acerbity or for a less salary than your faithful Historiographer,

CRAMBO CHANTER.

THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
JOHN HUTCHINGS
OF THE BOSTON BAR
IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I.
BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY
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THE
MODERN INDEPENDENT
W H I G.

ARGUMENT.

*SEDITION in a doleful plight,
Perplex'd with patriot cares all night ;
To get advice in his distraction,
Proceeds in quest of brother FACTION ;
The house of Faction delineated,
Whom he met there and how was treated.*

CANTO I.

'TWAS midnight, and th' unmuffled tongue
Of the town clock one peal had rung ;
Silent the Bacchanalian roar,
Chang'd to intoxicated snore,
Labour had ceased from its fatigue,
A Lust was satiate with intrigue ;

B

5

E'en

E'en Theft its prouling circuit made,
 And gamblers sharpening tricks display'd.
 The tongue of slander also lay still;
 Its Venom spent against the castle;
 And ev'ry minion adherent,
 T' its Lord and Master the Vicegerent;
 Who trait'rously employ their functions,
 T' obey his ruinous injunctions;
 And thus return the gifts and graces,
 Of pensions, peerages, and places.
 Pomp, parade, heroism, ambition,
 All wrapt in sleep, except *Sedition*;
 Which having Garattan possess'd,
 Depriv'd him totally of rest;
 Kept him anxiferous, and plodding
 Mischief, whilst his compeers were nodding;
 Revolving on each Resolution,
 Of Clubs, to mend the Constitution.
Gigantic boasts; said he, *but wind*,
Whilst dwarf performance snakes behind.
 Shall patriots communicate,
 The grievances of church and state;
 By them found out, in deep consult,
 Though to the purblind rout occult?
 And patient wait the consummation,
 Of their beloved Reformation,
 Wait some contingent intervention,
 T' effect their patriot intention;
 Which may a century require,
 Thus to obtain what we desire?
 Procrastination be thy lot,
 Ante-deluvian patriot.

But who at three, or four score dies,
 Cant measure time by centuries ; 40
 Must snatch contingences that fall,
 Or ne'er effect their schemes atall.

He said, when grievances a train,
 Usurp the the empire of his brain ;
 Of which the heaviest, and the worst, 45
 With rotten Boroughs to be curst,
 From whence such members still are sent,
 As sell their votes in parliament ;
 Grow overbearing as they thrive,
 Like Drones on th' honey of the hive ; 50
 Whilst knights of Shires, with equal merit,
 Labour, and providential spirit,
 Assist to bring the honey home,
 Yet scarce have gleanings of the Comb.

'Tis true we love to taste Court-honey, 55
 And seek it too like Borough-Crone ;
 And as the Bears, above all beasts,
 Delight in apiary feasts ;
 If they can find a bees nest out,
 Will risque being stung in paw and snout ; 60
 Their appetite to gratify ;
 So we in spite of obloquy ;
 In imitation of that brute,
 As eager, and as resolute ;
 Do seek the honey of the Court, 65
 Though with the Club we still resort ;
 And exercise the tongue and quill,
 In making rogues of whom we will ;
 A privilege all patriots claim
 As guardians of the publick fame.

(1) Such thoughts annihilated sleep,
 And painful vigils made him keep;
 The bed of down on which he lies,
 No truce for mental pain supplies;
 Himself from side to side he rolls, 75
 But rage indignant still controuls;
 Each grinding thought all temp'rance scorns,
 And turns the goose-down into thorns.

Now forth from his loath'd bed he rose,
 And hastily put on his cloaths. 80
 Hibernian cloth in scarlet dyed,
 Adorn'd his trepidating side;
 Blue capes, and cuffs, and blue lapels,
 Such as are worn by Colonels.
 Two bags of filk he stretch'd to see, 85
 If they would reach from heel, to knee;
 Half boots, not shoes, his insteps girt,
 To guard his filken bags from dirt;
 And then suspended by a belt,
 A peaceful sword his shoulders felt. 90
 Next he a fierce cockade assum'd,
 With lace bedizen'd round, and plum'd;
 When thus equipt he did appear,
 Like an intrepid Volunteer.

Now drefs'd, with hasty strides he tends, 95
 To *Factions* dome—his best of friends;
 Resolv'd to ask, and give advice,
 In matters intricate and nice;
 Conceiving liberty and life,
 Involv'd in Opposition strife: 100
 And Constitution going to pot,
 By some machiavelian plot,

Of

Of Ministerial Boute-feus,
 To change our neat, for wooden shoes :
 And Revelation covenants, 105
 Deface, to make us miscreants ;
 Unless the Whig-Club does defeat,
 These knavish inroads on the state ;
 And all their influence engage,
 T' uphold each crippled privilege ; 110
 T' accomplish this by circumvention,
 His present hope, is and intention ;
 Not doubting by the aid of *Faction*,
 T' improve each bold resolve to action.

Though from first issue he was quick, 115
 And flounder'd on thro' thin and thick ;
 Yet now, as in a horrid fright,
 His pace was mended to a flight ;
 As if, like Mercury heretofore,
 He wings on feet and shoulders wore. 120
 One street he pass'd, and then a second,
 Till half a score at least were reckon'd ;
 When he arriv'd at *Faction's* cell,
 Where *Opposition* fierce and fell ;
 Stood, giant like, to guard the port, 125
 From all intruding spies of Court.
 Hallo ! cries Janitor—Who's there ?
 Your business and yourself declare.
 A friend to *Faction* he replied
 My ent'rance must not be denied. 130
 It must till I the watch word hear.
 Receive it then—'tis—*Persevere*.

(2) No more the Janitor delays,
 But instantly applies the Keys ;

The

The pliant bolts shoot backward strait, 135
 And leave at liberty the gate ;
 Which now flies ope with quick recoil,
 Whilst hinges scream for want of oil.
 As distant thunder gives alarm,
 To man of some approaching harm ; 140
 But as it gradually nighs,
 Might fortify aginst surprise ;
 Yet when the vivid flash imparts,
 An instantaneous clap ; he starts ;
 And as the bursts coruscant roll, 145
 They rouse to serious thoughts the soul.
 Of Factions door, just so, the bound
 Roused all the patriots around ;
 Defeated too the golden schemes,
 Some executed in their dreams : 150
 For men in sleep do oft achieve
 The plans, which waking they contrive ;
 And dreams had placed some in the Castle,
 (Though not as men confined in Bastile)
 But as by minister befriended, 155
 And for preferment soon intended.
 For tho' *corrupted ministry*,
 Is th' popular deceptive cry,
 And tho' the opposition game
 Is play'd ; preferment still's the aim. 160
 As in a boat the man who rows,
 Still turns his back to where he goes.
 Hence all that struggling and that straining,
 And threatnings meant to have no meaning.
 Hence those repeated hints of bribes, 165
 To swerve the chiefs of patriot tribes ;
 Which

Which th' orthodox true citizen,
 Can shew the person, where, and when,
 And will t' uphold his credit, quote
 Epistles, that were never wrote ; 170

(3) With protestations stout and hearty,
 Ne'er to desert the cause or party ;
 But stedfastly adhere to both,
 Tho' of allegiance, 'gainst the oath.

And tho' Whig-craft, implies expedients, 175
 Against all government obedience ;
 When the court favours are misplaced,
 And the fraternity disgraced ;

Which gives hypocrisy and tricks,
 Ascendance in their politicks ; 180
 Yet he'll afford them his assistance,
 Whilst the court keeps him at a distance.

, But yet 'tis fit we should proclaim,
 Their principles, wh' assume that name.

When first the name of *Whig* was known, 185
 'Twas not as hostile to the throne ;
 Nor perversely addicted still,
 As now to oppose the sov'reigns will.

Nought but outrage 'gainst church and laws,
 Was deem'd a just opponent cause ; 190
 For those who laid the firm foundation,
 Of this our half Regeneration ;

Made it the fundamental stone,
 To banish Pop'ry from the throne ;
 Whilst th' *declaration of right*, 195
 Kept temp'rate freedom still in sight ;

And did an equipollance give,
 To *Freedom* and *Prerogative*.

Such Whigs were *Somers* and assistants,
 Whose labours bless us at this distance. 200
 Reverse to this, now Whigism lies,
 In myſtagogious ſubleties;
 In tavern meetings, and carouſes,
 T' impeach the conduct of both houſes;
 T' invade the Church, like impious *Poland*, 205
 And Britain make a ſecond *Poland*;
 To deem the Church in morals defective,
 And make the Britiſh crown Elective.
 And in ſupport of this, pretend
 The *Bill of Rights* to be their friend; 210
 Tho' ev'ry line, in th' declaration,
 To this affirm claps a negation;
 And combats his abſurd offence,
 'Gainſt common law, and common ſenſe.
 By this diſqualifying claufe, 215
 They clap a ſtigma on our laws;
 For if no king's to be reſpected
 As ſuch, unleſs he was elected,
 By Whigs (for they'll withhold that glory
 From th' pliant and obſequious Tory) 220
 Then thoſe devoid of ſuch a choice,
 No legal *Fiat* have in voice;
 And acts of ſuch uſurping Regents,
 Have no more force than ſpurious Legends.
 Yet ſtill perverſe and obſtinate, 225
 Our modern Whigs ſophiſticate;
 And what by wrangle, and by ſcuffle,
 They cant maintain, they'll do't by ſhuffle,
 Make both their loyalty and faith,
 Pliant and ſupple as a lath; 230
 The

The energy of each unnerve,
 As prejudice or passion swerve;
 Make them at all times prone to lurch,
 As dudgeon prompts both crown and church;
 For all the Clubs denoted *Whiggish*, 235
 Are so politically Riggish;
 And so pragmatick in their way,
 And arrogant as one may say;
 That all the business of the nation,
 Goes wrong without their approbation. 240
 Such is the magic change between
 A patriot out of place, and in;
 That what, when in, he would have fought
 T' uphold, he militates when out;
 As if the name of Whig, confer'd 245
 Wisdom to see where others err'd;
 And honesty to mend those flaws,
 And Tory breaches in the laws.
 Whilst giving vent t' abusive tropes,
 And fierce anathemas, like Popes, 250
 Of civil police consecration;
 They damn the rulers of the nation;
 And tempt the people to combustion
 By their inflammatory fustian.

Thus a Whig-Club, a *Hidra* grows, 255
 And round it ruin portentous throws;
 And like a head crinite with snakes,
 An everlasting hissing makes.
 Or like that adder, whose loud rattle,
 Proclaims a promptitude for battle; 260
 And warns the auditer to fly,
 So venomous an enemy.

Hence

Hence 'tis our modern Whig's no true Son,
 Of one concern'd in th' *Revolution* ;
 But stands of mungrel brood confest, 265
 As th' Mule's but half a horse at best.
 We'll leave him for a while, to shew
 Garattans progress, and his crew.

Now where the portal rude does yawn,
 T' admit the patriotic spawn ; 270
 On ent'ring first you find the hall,
 Adorn'd with hieroglyphic scrawl ;
 To imitate th' Egyptian school,
 In typifying knave or fool.

Lo here, with elevated crest, 275
 A hissing snake a B——n exprest ;
 Lo there depict, you see a Leech
 Close fasten'd to a female, Which
 Was label'd with this definition,
 Hibernia glutting her Physician ;
 Which brings the readers fancy pat on,
 The pensionary patriot G——n 280
 Proceeding in the vestibule
 You meet the portrait of a mule ;
 Which as he stands within his stall,
 Kicks furiously against a wall ;
 Whilst from resistance that he met,
 He seem'd to kick more fierce and fret.
 In this the conisseurs can see
 The architype of P——by.

In'nook a Tyger, almost latent, 285
 Couches before a Sergeants patent ;
 Looks wistfully upon the deed,
 Whilst in his paw *Reform* we read,

And

And here I fix'd, without demur on,
 As th' simbolized person, C——n. 290
 Depicted on the left of him,
 You see a Lion fierce and grim ;
 And at his feet an animal,
 By Zoographist yclep'd Jackall
 Attending on the rugged sage, 300
 As pander to his bloody rage.
 From Lions mouth a label sent,
 Cries, *down with church establishment.*
 As this he hopes his jaws to say,
 Their length denote he does but bray ; 305
 This with enormous length of ears,
 Pronounce him not what he appears ;
 But that an assine back and side,
 Were covered by a lions hide.
 The Jackall too, by eyes judicious, 310
 Is soon perceiv'd to be fictitious ;
 And that it is a turnspit cur,
 Th' obsequious Jackall's skin has wore ;
 The label flowing from the Ass,
 (4) Shew'd that for N——m he'd pass ; 315
 And th' sham Jackall stood very handy
 For his lick-Spittle N——r T——y.
 Goose, Booby, Magpy, Daw, and Rook ;
 Left not a vacant square or nook ;
 And each contour so strong intended, 320
 As shew'd the patriot represented.
 His type the booby M——a owns,
 The Goose O N——l, The Magpy I——s ;
 B——h from the Daw his semblance took,
 And C——l stood confest the Rook. 325
 Now

Now leaving the first vestibule,
 Where clamour, riot, and misrule ;
 Were represented by some beast,
 Or bird, in hieroglyphick taste ;
 As he approach'd the presence seat, 330
 Where *Faction* sits to rule the state ;
 Unnumber'd voices pierc'd his ear,
 And struck him with portentous fear.

Lente ! says he, what means this yell ;
 Have all the Imps broke loose from Hell ; 335
 Or have their counterpart, the Guards,
 With impious strut profan'd these wards ?
 Have Fiats, and excessive Bail,
 Proceeded from the court t' assail,
 And clap illegal curb upon, 340
 Our patriotick carryings on ;
 By aid of printers and their Devils,
 To stem the current of court evils ;
 From whence attachments still are filed,
 And Whigs by Tory Knaves beguil'd ; 345
 And is my friend here in the number,
 And now arrested in his slumber ?
 If this the case, I'll keep my distance,
 As I can give him no assistance ;
 But by retreating now I may, 350
 Advance the cause some future day ;
 And 'gainst court machinations fence,
 By fly chicane or evidence.

For who prevarication loaths,
 Gives up th' advantages of oaths ; 55
 Nor could Cabals against the court,
 Their opposition long support ;

If

If nice and concientious qualms,
 Were suffered to obstruct their Flams.
 And if my friend is seiz'd, I'll try, 360
 To save him by an *Alibi* ;
 For if a false oath brings relief,
 And Thief will swear for brother Thief ;
 To save him in the nick from Gallows,
 That Zealous Whigs, more than such fellows 365
 Should lose th' advantage of a lye,
 There's no sufficient reason why.

Did not Bostonians do their best on,
 (5) The memorable trial of *Preston* ;
 Who with some soldiers had been sent, 370
 By order of the government ;
 To quell a mob's impetuous rage,
 Which civil power could not assuage ?
 For a Mob's pranks are ev'ry where,
 The perfect gambols of a Bear.
 Which beast at all controul will grumble,
 But that which taught him first to tumble.
 No Magistrate need interpose,
 Without a ring upon his nose.
 So 'tis in vain to seek discretion,
 Where reason has such small relation.
 Did they not strive by oath, and bann,
 To sacrifice that honest man ; 375
 To the prevailing patriotism,
 And thought false oaths to be no schism ;
 Nor breach of Justice, tho' the Host,
 Had all been hang'd by knights O' the Post ?
 (6) Did not that patriot Vintner *Flattery*, 380
 Swear 'gainst two Rakes assault and battery,

For

For coming to his publick house,
 And snatching from his handsome spouse,
 A kiss or two when they were drunk,
 Thus treating her as if a Punk? 385
 But what enhanced this rude caprich?
 The Rakes were officers, and rich;
 And what still made the matter worse,
 Poor Flattery had an empty purse;
 And now could act a politick, 390
 As well as profitable trick;
 Could fill his purse, by this high crime,
 And could impeach at the same time;
 The standing army, for the freaks,
 Of two inebriated rakes. 395

Stanch patriots, always on the scent,
 For crimes against the Government;
 Had then no publick grievance got,
 But like a pack of hounds at fault;
 Had neither open cry, nor Yelp, 400
 Except the babling of a Whelp.
 For ev'ry publick act is game,
 When men to be reformers claim.
 And if a Whig his cause can serve,
 No matter if from truth he swerve; 405
 He weighs success against th' offence,
 And that repairs lost innocence.

Now after this soliloqui,
 Before he turn'd his back to fly;
 He said, I'll somewhat nigher go, 410
 To reconnoitre this our foe.
 And thus resolv'd upon his toes
 With timid steps to th' door he goes;

Whence

Whence issued the tremendous sound,
 Which all his senses did confound ; 415
 And there a crevice he espied,
 By bungling artist left so wide ;
 That he his piercing eye could send,
 Throughout the room from end to end.

The reader now will have occasion, 420
 To exercise imagination ;
 From that alone he can surmise,
 How great was Garattans surprise ;
 In finding faithful friends in those,
 Whom enemies he did suppose. 425

As when on seas impetuous tost,
 The rudder and the compass lost ;
 Some land unknown appears in sight,
 Before the dark approach of night ;
 The mariner in doubt, which more, 430
 He ought to dread, the Sea or shoar ;
 Whether, if Heaven should grant his wishes ;
 He'd chuse to be devour'd by fishes,
 Or Savages ; the choice distressing,
 Had drowning made the greater blessing. 435

He now puts forth his skilful hand,
 To shun th' inhospitable strand ;
 But Boreas and the waves prevailing,
 Against his rowing and his sailing ;
 He found his shattered bark at last, 440
 Had struck the ground and there stuck fast.
 Now he concludes himself undone,
 And dreads the near approaching sun ;
 Supposing he must surely die,
 Or be reduced to slavery : 445

But

But unexpectedly the morrow,
 Brought with it joy, instead of sorrow :
 Instead of Savages expected,
 He finds himself by friends protected.

Such joy was felt by Garattan, 450
 To find his friends in close Divan :
 And now no longer wish'd t' ensconce
 Himself, but forced the door at once.
 Salute he could not ev'ry Soul,
 But ent'ring first, bow'd to the whole ? 455
 Then turn'd to *Faction* in the Chair,
 And smiled, and nodded, debonnair.

Surprise to see a man intrude,
 So suddain, caus'd an interlude,
 Of whispers, winks, and nods of caution, 460
 Which put a stop to speech or motion.

These jealousies he soon perceiv'd,
 At which he grumbled much and griev'd ;
 That after he so much had done,
 To gain their good opinion ; 465

And for their bounty plainly shew'd
 His patriotick gratitude,
 When he to gratify their hate,
 The Clergy strove to reprobate ;
 And had with diligence and cost, 470

Sent spies to find out knights O' the post ;
 In ev'ry parish, town, and village,
 Who were concern'd in tithes or tillage ;
 To furnish sworn intelligences,
 Of all disputes and differences ; 475

Between Parishioners and Rectors,
 On which he gave the senate Lectures ;

And

And though in this he mist success,
 He merited their thanks no less;
 Nor is it solid reason why, 480
 They should suspicious be and shy.

He play'd, he thought, a prudent game,
 Although defeated in his aim.
 Because the Whig-Club now was bent,
 To try the same experiment ; 485
 Had agents of suspicious morals,
 Sent out t' explore Incumbents quarrels ;
 And to bring in some well attested,
 Proofs that the Clergy first molested ;
 And by tenacious usurpation, 490
 The farmer forced to litigation ;
 Determin'd whatsoe'er the plaint,
 To make the parson miscreant ;
 Although 'tis plain as two, and two,
 Make four, he cant exceed his due. 495

That if t' excess he did resort,
 The law would soon chastise him for't.
 With these suspicious looks distressed,
 And conscious merit in his breast ;
 Garattan now gave vent t' his piques, 500
 And thus extol'd his politicks.

Though not to all, I'm known to some,
 Distinguish'd patriots in this room ;
 Who if requir'd will be my vouchers,
 I'm none of those, call'd Castle-Crouchers, 505
 Such I've opposed both night and day,
 As friends to arbitrary sway ;
 Permit me and I'll make this clear.
 The Cry was *hear him, hear him, hear,*

When first the Volunteers arose, 510
 You recollect I do suppose;
 And when that martial rage began,
 How quick it through the kingdom ran.
 Instant the feeble spark became,
 In ev'ry breast a glowing flame; 515
 Pervaded like the human soul,
 With vital energy the whole.
 Men of the first estates and figure,
 Adopted it with zeal and vigour;
 Whilst menial sons of indigence, 520
 By it were warm'd to consequence.
 In this success I claim no more,
 Than other patriots with me bore;
 But that of fanning still the flame,
 As my peculiar act I claim. 525
 When peace had freed us from alarms,
 And men inclin'd to lay down arms;
 'Twas I who first employ'd his brains,
 To rid ourselves from Britains chains;
 To own no law or proclamation, 530
 Sanction'd by any foreign nation;
 But that we should as freemen strive,
 Our independence to revive;
 Nor ever should our arms lay down,
 'Till this was granted by the Crown. 535
 'Twas granted then, yet still not pleas'd,
 Another obstacle I rais'd.
 The matter was extremely nice,
 And simple vote would not suffice;
 A solemn act of Renunciation, 540
 Must pass to gratify the nation;

When gratified in this demand,
 Then we should instantly disband.
 We met compliance too in this,
 Yet one thing more was still amiss. 545
 Appeals from hence to British courts,
 A state subordinate imports.
 No more then be our causes tried,
 In Britain, and we're satisfied ;
 Concede us this, and then you'll leave, 550
 Hibernians nothing more to crave.
 This too, attended with free Trade,
 (7) Unask'd they gave, because afraid.
 All these concessions, it is clear,
 Flow'd from the dread of Volunteer ; 555
 And as no man a kindness owes,
 To him who yields, but not bestows ;
 So by no laws of honour tied,
 We asked the more ; the less denied.
 No speech nor motion in the Senate, 560
 To urge our claims, but I did pen it ;
 No threat or puff in publick print,
 But you might trace my finger in't.
 I form'd the votes of all Cabals,
 Coin'd toasts for whisky Bacchanals ; 565
 Then circulated them as fit,
 T' instruct the world with Topers wit ;
 And shew, against the common rule,
 A drunken patriot is no fool ;
 But as the proverb doth advise, 570
 He can be merry too and wise.
 Oft have I fill'd one page of news,
 Describing Volunteer reviews ;

Their well fought battles, and manœuvres,
 Experienced Gen'als and adjuvers ; 575
 And as it terrified and troubled,
 The court, their numbers still were doubled.

'Twas I who first propos'd that all,
 The troops should be supplied with Ball ;
 And then with confidence declared, 580

Some thousand cartridges prepared ;
 (8) And kept for distribution ready,
 If forced to use that harsh remedy,
 But this I own had an effect,
 Reverse to what I did expect : 585

For troops, intended for reduction,
 Were still kept up for our destruction ;
 And kept in awe by these battallions,
 We dwindled into mere Rascallions.
 Yet who but wizards could presage, 590
 A check so fatal to our rage ?

But as Antæus, it was found,
 Recruited when he touched the ground ;
 So we tho' now deprest, may rise,
 Superior to our enemies ; 595
 In time may all commence Antæans,
 And find a day to sing our pœans.

He said. And after he had ceased,
 He was most cordially embraced ;
 In all their patriotick arms, 600
 For an harrangue so full of charms.
 Tho' silent now, yet ev'ry ear,
 Inclined as if it still did hear ;
 And to the elocution hung,
 As if it still flow'd from his tongue. 605

So the Leviathan of Nile,
 Much better known by *Crocodile* ;
 When on the banks he doth recline,
 And bask himself in the sunshine ;
 Is said to make a plaintive noise, 610
 In semblance of a human voice ;
 And by that hypocritick wile,
Denounced the tears of Crocodile ;
 Inveigles men to the relief,
 Of such suppos'd distress and grief, 615
 Whom when he gets into his power,
 He does insidiously devour.
 Or as that same amphibious creature,
 By others call'd the *Aligator* ;
 When basking in the sun he lies, 620
 Collects innumerable flies ;
 Within his stercoraceous Jaws,
 Whose musky scent those insects draws ;
 And when, with such furcharg'd his Jole,
 A single gulp devours the whole. 625
 Or as when in the stream he swims,
 He preys on carcases and limbs ;
 Of human creatures, or of brutes,
 Who can't evade his fierce pursuits ;
 So Garattan's inveigling speech, 630
 Did Whiggish flies so much bewitch ;
 And did so lacerate and mangle,
 The Clergy's character, by brangle ;
 That both to him fell sacrifice,
 As limbs to th' Crocodile and flies. 635
 And now began the same uproar,
 Which terrified him so before ;

Voices

Voices from ev'ry quarter come,
 And loudly bellow through the dome,
 As when at Bonfire men and boys, 640
 Proclaim with open lungs their joys;
 The conjunct Treble, Tenor, Bass,
 A whole battallion's drums disgrace;
 So now the diff'rent keys and notes,
 Of shrill, and hoarse, and rusty throats; 645
 Disgrace the melody of tones,
 By cleavers made and marrow bones.

There might be heard in deep-mouth'd cry,
A Baneful Aristocracy.
 And there, of *Bill of Rights*, the roar, 650
 Supprest by *Arbitrary pow'r*.
 There *Licence of the press* does ring;
 And there *Petition to the King*.
Attachments there from Jail broke loose;
 Exclaim'd against the laws abuse. 655
 There *Fiats* issued, and *detention*,
 There *Placemen Bribery and Pension*;
 There *down with Church and all Church dues*;
 Tyrannick impost, fit for Jews.
 And there *Cathedral nest of Drones*, 660
 Was follow'd by three heavy groans.
 There one with frantick grumbling raves,
 'Gainst *Borough-mongers and their slaves*;
 And there another, no less warm,
 Cries *Parliamentary Reform*. 665
 There *Traitors to the Majesty*,
 O' th' people, hear the hue and Cry.
 Whilst insult, menace, and upbraiding;
 Reviews, manœuvres, and parading;

When

When the *Hibernian Whig-Club*,
Made such confusion and hubbub;
Such unconnected eloquence;
Such expletives devoid of sense;
And yet contriv'd to imitate,
The vulgar mind against the state.
Now grown so noisy, and unquiet,
So prone to turbulence and riot;
That seeing the approach of morn,
The Chair-man motion'd to adjourn.

670

675

ARGUMENT

A R G U M E N T

OF THE

S E C O N D C A N T O.

*Sedition at first interview,
Debarr'd of what he went to sue,
Lamenting grievously to miss it,
Determin'd on a second Visit.
Found Faction occupied in prayer,
The hall describ'd, and pictures there.*

C A N T O II.

THE Junto broke, and members gone ;
Much clamour made, and nothing done ;
No grievance fix'd by gen'ral vote,
No circular epistles wrote.
No reprobation of the Police,
For all its blunderings and folies.
No stigma on a castle minion ;
Nor council censured for opinion ;
Nor yet reproach on the King's Bench ;
For issuing Fiats, to retrench

5

10
Our

Our freedom, by excessive Bail,
 Requir'd to liberate from Jail.
 No Vote to send congratulation,
 To th' Majesty of the French nation ;
 Or to express the Joys we feel, 15
 At th' demolition of Bastile ;
 And those sensations, which environ
 The freeman's heart, when chains of Iron,
 Have circumscrib'd that despot, who is,
 No longer Monarch, but plain Lewis. 20
 A just and righteous retaliation,
 Our courtiers say, for the vexation.
 He gave to Britain by supplies,
 To her revolted Colonies :
 For which our Volunteers still prone, 25
 In business foreign to their own ;
 T' address him publicly design'd,
 (1) As th' friend of freedom and mankind ;
 Which shews how fickle and unstable,
 Th' applauses of a giddy rabble. 30

But acts like these were more besitting
 Cabals of day, than mid-night sitting ;
 For Politicks, like love intrigues,
 Are carried on by secret leagues ;
 In both, our wishes and intentions, 35
 Are brought about by circumventions.
 The Gen'ral and the Politician,
 When they have foes in opposition ;
 Should both be watchful still and plodding,
 To catch their enemies a nodding. 40

But now Sedition, personated,
 By Garattan, as just related ;

Depriv'd

Depriv'd of what he set his wish on,
 The Counsel of that state physician ;
 Call'd Faction, but personified, 45
 By Pun-son-fly, as close allied ;
 The meeting this Cabal regretted,
 And at its prorogation fretted.
 He miss'd the counsel which he sought,
 And pass'd a restless night for nought. 50
 Scarce half way home before he stopt,
 To think what measure to adopt.
 I will, said he, return in haste,
 Before my friend retires to rest ;
 If Faction ever rests at all, 55
 Unlike to Heaven rejected Saul.
 I shall find him alone for certain ;
 And get the advice I placed my heart in.
 And now turn'd back with hasty strut,
 He reach'd the door before 'twas shut ; 60
 Re-enters without molestation,
 Deem'd as a friend and near relation.
 Faction he found in the same chair,
 In which he left him, off'ring prayer,
 With zeal to popular applause ; 65
 In patriot oppositions cause.
 No other God was there invoc'd,
 No other Fane with incense smok'd,
 Sedition thought it was a sin,
 On such devotions to break in ; 70
 And waited, tho' with much impatience,
 The finishing ejaculations ;
 For ceremony's always best,
 When folks are making a request.

Mean

Mean time while Faction was devout, 75
 Sedition walk'd the room about ;
 Observ'd the walls with portraits spread,
 Of patriots alive, and dead ;
 In which th' ingenious artists strove,
 To paint the objects of mob-love. 80
 Bold Gen'als there, without commission,
 (2) Senators fierce in opposition.
 Wise Delegates, and Demagogues,
 By Whigs deem'd gods, by 'Tories rogues ;
 [But which opinion is the best. 85
 Requires a problematic test]
 Who scruple not the meanest Job,
 Of chicane, to mislead the mob.
 Between these portraitures were placed,
 Paintings derang'd in rustick taste ; 90
 In which th' historick pencil tries,
 To help defective memories ;
 And the spectators thoughts engages,
 On tragick scenes of former ages.
 Open to view, on scaffold spread, 95
 Lies the first Charles without a head ;
 And th' executioner doth stand,
 Close by, with th' reeking head in hand ;
 Proclaiming—*Thus doth Justice deal,*
With Traitors to the common Weal. 100
 To Independent of new light,
 As in the act, a pleasing sight.
 Thin's the partition that divides,
 Some modern Whigs from Regicides,
 So thin, that air alone supplies, 105
 Materials for the edifice ;

Which

Which like a spectre doth appear,
To rise, and to subsist by fear.

There lively tints, in frame of gold,
The politicks of Noll unfold ; 112
Who, as Mahomet with the sword,
Enforc'd obedience to his word ;
Which he pretended to have got,
From Heaven, and by an Angel brought ;
Which as a pigeon did appear, 115
To whisper it into his ear ;
By which fictitious Paraclete,
He did all Infidels defeat ;
And their religious tenets trim,
T' his own licentious mode and whim. 120
Or as Pomphilius once did swear he, a
Conference held, with th' Nymph Egerea ;
Who brought him from th' empyreal height,
Some Revelation ev'ry night ;
And by that sham did consecrate, 125
The policy of Church and state.
So Cromwell found the excellence,
Of such pretended Providence ;
And studied still to have it thought,
His acts with Heavenly wisdom fraught ; 130
And as inspir'd was still presaging,
A happy issue when engaging ;
The troops belonging to the Crown,
Intent to pull th' Hi'rarchy down ;
In which his followers did feel, 135
So fanatick and fierce a zeal ;
That such an instance, out of Hell,
Of feroce and implacable ;

Rage,

Rage, ne'er by Saricen was given,
 Or Devils in their war 'gainst Heaven. 140
 Which desperate infatuation,
 Has since met Heavens remuneration ;
 And by their fall has mortified,
 Such vile hypocrisy and pride ;
 As it has done to th' Jewish nation, 145
 For their contempt of Revelation.
 But when beyond desert, or hope,
 He got a throne instead of rope ;
 With tyranny the Despot reign'd,
 And snapt that freedom Charles but strain'd : 150
 And when his conduct plainly tended,
 To ruin what should be defended ;
 And mention made of the Great Charter,
 'Twas found for Saint, they h'd caught a Tartar ;
 Who plainly shew'd as he did fill, 155
 The Seat of Government, his will
 Alone, should be the law O' the nation,
 And Sword support his usurpation.
 By his own arbitrary power.
 He turn'd the Commons out of door ; 160
Fools Bauble call'd the Speakers mace,
 And did the House of Lords erase.
 Which might shew dupes, if dupes could see,
 That slav'ry tracks strain'd Liberty.
 There a Cathedral too was seen, 165
 With Bishop, Prebends, and the Dean ;
 Ejected in the Church-yard stand,
 Succeeded by fanatic Band ;
 Whilst Butlers Trull, who lock'd her fish up,
 Tears the lawn sleeves from off the Bishop. 170
 Hence

Hence may be known how 'tis intended,
 Our constitution should be mended,
 And what it is makes some so warm,
 In the pursuit of a Reform;
 That ~~the~~ amount of all their wish, is 175
 To share the Churches loaves and fishes.

Lo! here a portrait painter, tried all
 His skill, on Hampden the mob-Idol;
 That would be Tutor if he could,
 To the first Prince of royal blood; 180
 But disappointed in his claim,
 His bosom glow'd with patriot flame;
 For then, as now, experience tells,
 No antidote so soon expells;
 Th' infection of place hankerings, 185
 As the repulsive nod of Kings.

The franck patriot differs quite,
 From the dementate Bedlamite;
 And as they diff'rent pangs endure,
 There should be diff'rent modes of Cure. 190
 The Bedlamite, in thought elate,
 To th' highest pinnacle of state;
 Should have his tow'ring whim suppress,
 By slender diet, and straight vest.
 But when the understanding leaves, 195
 The patriot, and he rants and raves;
 Against the ministerial crew
 For all the measures they pursue;
 [As nothing that they do can please,
 This being the symptom O' the disease] 200
 You'll find those maniac whims and fancies,
 Arise from his derang'd Finances.

In circumstances being straight laced,
 If he is pension'd then, or placed ;
 And well supplied with meat and drink, 205
 He'll to his senses come, and think ;
 Grow much less fierce, and much more wise,
 Renounce his Whig antipathies ;
 No more will bluster, lye, and bounce,
 But all his patriot freaks renounce ; 210
 Will shew how much when poor he flamm'd,
 By now supporting what he damn'd.

In pictures of a smaller size,
 Were underling Incendiaries ;
A Baxter, Coleman, Brooks, and Vines, 215
 (3) Of yore conventicle Divines.
 Who fill'd the pulpit and the press,
 With murder and licentiousness ;
 Employ'd their sacred lights and groans,
 To furnish stings for patriot drones, 220
 Whom providence did not endue,
 With zeal sufficient, to imbrue
 Their hands, in blood for the promotion,
 Of their conventicle devotion ;
 But stood aloof with some remorse, 225
 To use unchristian fraud and force ;
 In pulling other churches down,
 To build upon the ruins their own.
 This to effect, their cant and clack,
 Set Truth and Justice on the rack. 230
 Did canonize the denizens,
 Of turbulence, by tongues and pens ;
 And by the aid of pulpit paint,
 Convert a Scoundrel to a Saint ;

A sacred

A sacred privilege and power, 235
Usurp'd by Synods to this hour ;

(4) Like that of Derry, which suborns,
Both Heaven and Hell, for claws and horns ;
To make a Devil of a Prelate,
Who had th' audacity to relate, 240

What British Chronicles have told,
Of their intriguing deeds of old :
And at the same time took occasion,
(For downright shuffle and evasion
By Doctor Campbel, call'd *Reply*) 245

As if the Vice-Divinity ;
This man with glory to encircle,
Who slur'd the man that us'd their Kirk ill.

Now having look'd the pictures o'er,
Sedition came t' his friend once more ; 250
And found him well inclin'd to grant,
The audience which he seem'd to want ;
When thus the troubles of his breast,
With plaintive accents he exprest.

O thou from whom I do inherit, 255
Congenial turbulence of spirit ;
And from whose bounty too, arise
My obstinate antipathies ;
Against the race of Kings Vicegerents,
And all their infamous adherents ; 260
To whose beneficence of Spirit,
Had I been left, and my own merit ;
I should e'er now be starv'd with hunger,
By th' profits of a *Whig-state's-Monger*.
To Tories I've no obligation, 565
But much to Whig infatuation ;

D

Which

Which gave me fifty thousand pound,
 For gain the kingdom never found.
 To thee I come those griefs t' impart,
 Which lie corroding at my heart; 270
 Assist at this conjuncture nice,
 Me, and thy party, with advice.

'Tis true the Volunteers in arms,
 Had fill'd Great Britain with alarms;
 (Though they had little cause God knows 275
 To dread such vain default'ry foes)
 Made her with some demands comply,
 Because she dreaded to deny.
 Renounce she did, encroachments made,
 Upon our Parliament and Trade; 280
 And by repealing Poyning's laws,
 Remov'd th' effects but not the cause;
 For still the cause of all our sorrows,
 Is center'd in our rotten Boroughs;
 By which the Commons house is fill'd, 285
 With members, who refuse to yield,
 To the instructive voice of those,
 By whom they are, or should be chose;
 And thus our acts of legislature,
 Have not one constitution feature. 290

Whilst still we're gall'd by such a fore,
 Our case is worse than 'twas before;
 For if this trade should be productive
 (5) Of wealth, 'twill be the more destructive;
 For from th' encrease of revenue, 295
 More gen'ral brib'ry must ensue;
 As there is more debauch'ry still,
 Where power's united to the will.

Where

Where the enjoyment is of plenty,
 Not one example out of twenty ; 300
 Where this has not been still confin'd,
 To private int'rests of mankind ;
 Or where its cogent influence,
 Did liberty to man dispense.

In the rich kingdoms of the east, 305
 The subject lives just as the beast ;
 He eats and drinks, and sleeps, and then,
 He eats and drinks, and sleeps again ;
 And what by industry he makes,
 Above those wants the Sov'reign takes. 310

Thus if by trading, wealth we raise,
 The crown may with more splendour blaze ;
 But when mock-representative,
 As the crown asks will always give ;
 The more enrich'd our rulers find us, 315
 The more we gild the chains that bind us.

Yet this corruption still defies,
 Our declamations, threats and lies :
 We've spent the venom of the wasp,
 Brought calumny to its last gasp ; 320
 For Faction can no higher Soar,
 And the curb'd press insult no more.

(6) Yet shall we tamely now desist,
 And let reflexion thin the mist ;
 Which we have raised by false alarms, 325
 To keep our Volunteers in arms ?

Forbid it Fate, and ev'ry boast
 Of clubs, who ought to rule the roast.
 We must all Borough charters seize,
 Be represented as we please ;

330
 Not

Not have such members forced upon us,
 Whose venal votes have quite undone us,
 Unaw'd by law, we'll spake and write,
 Nor fear who threatens to indict;
 Associate clubs will pay th' expence, 335
 Incurr'd in making our defence;
 For us the Juries will decide,
 And law and precedent deride.

But there's a grievance still more heavy,
 Resulting from the Sons of Levi; 340
 From whose spiritualities,
 Such factious combinations rise;
 Such jealousies and discontent,
 Against the church establishment;
 'Mongst Papist both, and Independent, 345
 Whose churches each would be ascendant;
 It being of each the private view,
 Herself to riggle up, and screw,
 In th' highest rank; and when that's done,
 Run off with the contention Bone. 350

You know how long I've been committed,
 And like a game-cock fed and pitted;
 To combat this enormous evil,
 To God ascrib'd, Some say the Devil;
 But whence it had its origin, 355
 I think's a point not worth a pin.
 I combat not the Sp'ritual cause,
 But its more potent friend our laws;
 If these I can but get repeal'd,
 I disregard all those reveal'd. 360
 As christians are not bound to use,
 All ceremonies of the Jews;

Then

Then why pay tithes which th' law of Moses,
 On Juda's tribe alone imposes ?
 That the Jews paid them should create, 365
 Was there no other cause, our hate.
 But who pleads right divine, at once
 Should his christianity renounce ;
 Make Judaism his exercise,
 Turn Talmudist, and circumcise ; 370
 Look out for pros'lites, and with them,
 Erect a new Jerusalem.
 But conscience in a Jewish breast,
 Gives way to private interest :
 For though they would not seem aggressors, 375
 Of rules observ'd by predecessors ;
 And therefore without grudge, or stint,
 Did tithes of *cummin* pay and *mint* ;
 Their conscience did not easy brook,
 To part with the tenth sheaf, or stook. 380
 A large proportion still did stifle,
 That which was lib'ral in a trifle ;
 And conscience burthen'd with expence,
 Soon lost its lucid influence ;
 And could no more its blaze maintain, 385
 Than taper in a hurricane.
 And since the Jews, without compunction,
 Withhold their tithes, tho' Heaven's injunction,
 When they excessive were and great,
 And made a beneficial cheat ; 390
 But paid them freely when minute,
 And would not recompence dispute.
 That those who think no rev'ence due,
 To the old Testament, or New ;

Are

Are by no human Statutes aw'd, 395
 That curb propensities to fraud ;
 That such, their avarice and spite
 Indulge, against the Clergy's right ;
 By practices of craft and plunder ;
 Afford us no surprise or wonder. 400

Hence with addresles I am pester'd,
 To have those clerick dues sequester'd ;
 By ev'ry club and congregation,
 Of Independents through the nation ;
 When e'er, and where so e'er, they meet, 405
 From the Whig-Club in Fownes's Street ;
 To all their mimicks in the North,
 Belfast, Dundonald, and so forth ;
 Who think that I, for publick Larges,
 Should be subservient to their charges ; 410
 Adopt the whimsies, and caprices,
 Civil and sacred prejudices ;
 Of each reforming *Whipper-Snapper*
 Belonging to the tribe of Napper.
 And as I must keep up the shew, 415
 Of doing what they bid me do ;
 With pertinacious zeal and hearty,
 As the chief bully of the party ;
 And as for this I'm highly priz'd,
 And shall in time be Canoniz'd ; 420
 By th' Saints Dundonald, or of Derry,
 As Cromwel heretofore by Sterry ;
 Who swore he saw old Noll when dead,
 With rays of glory round his head.
 And though I heartily despise, 425
 Such party-made-Divinities ;

Yet

Yet I must act as if endued,
 With some small share of gratitude;
 And in return for all their money,
 Appear their patriotick Croney. 430

I must confess I do adore,
 Addressees, and the vulgar roar.
 A patriot still some pleasure feels,
 To find a rabble at his heels;
 Such as the patriot who *Blacks Shoes*; 435
 And him who roars out *Bloody News*;
 With th' bellowers of *Water'd Ling*;
 Who make the Streets with poeans ring;
 On Garattan, who did his best,
 Th' establish'd Clergy to divest 440
 Of tithes; the peasants curse and scourge;
 And peccant ills of state to purge.
 And if to these we add th' address,
 (7) Of these Dundonald Gentillese;
 So Coaxing, flattering, and quaint; 445
 Becoming reformado Saint;
 So ready to rebel and murder
 Like Gallick faints, their schemes to further;
 I should have sunk them to despair,
 Had I not listen'd to their prayer 450
 And answer'd all their fly grimace,
 With corresponding leer of face;
 As if my patriot breast grew warm,
 With such an infligating charm;
 I humour'd them in all their freaks, 455
 And promis'd much for their dear fakes.

And now being pledged in faith and troth,
 And honour too, preferr'd to both;

As

As substituted pledge, and token,
 For those when they 're infring'd and broken, 460
 As oft they've been, and still the case is,
 Which all my publick plans defaces ;
 For not a scheme I took in hand,
 Conformable to their demand ;
 Or which I did myself contrive, 465
 Against the Church, could I atchieve ;
 Though its Success I did apprize,
 On strength of obloquy and lies ;
 But in chicane and fraud detected,
 And not by evidence protected ; 470
 This Stigma, I'm afraid, for ever,
 Will prove a Bar to my endeavour ;
 And I shall shortly be degraded,
 Unless by Faction's influence aided.

This the intention of my visit, 475
 Your aid and counsel to Sollicit ;
 For none in such an enterprize,
 So politick as you and wise ;
 Instruct and I'll obey your plan.
 He said.—And Faction thus began. 480

The Mob to raise by strokes of art,
 And with false fears mislead the heart ;
 Make subjects surfeit on their ease,
 And turbulent in midst of peace ;
 To lead the Vulgar as we list, 485
 And unoppos'd make them resist ;
 To set them on with frantick zeal,
 'Gainst grievances they did not feel ;
 Prompt them to requisition signing,
 Without th' impulsive cause defining ; 490

To

To run like sheep with their Bell-weather,
 And jump like him at straw or feather ;
 Pledge lives and fortunes to fulfill,
 By ev'ry means their own *no* will ;
 Or will, however they came by't, 495
 Which ne'er is wrong, but always right ;
 And as it never acts amiss,
 Treats its opponents with a *Hiss* ;
 And ties them like a Shrove-tide chick,
 To be thrown at by Vulgar stick ; 500
 Or like th' Athenian Owl's abuse,
 To be hen-peck'd by ev'ry goose.

Such the incessant mode of action,
 From the original of Faction ;
 And such the conduct still of you, 505
 My close connected kinsman too.
 All this, and more, has Faction done,
 And still has the same course to run ;
 A labour hard and formidable,
 Like cleansing the Augean stable ; 510
 Or rolling the recoiling stone,
 The task of Syfphi alone.
 But undismay'd we still must strive,
 To keep this discontent alive ;
 And cautiously to play our game, 515
 Lest Government defeat our aim.

You know how I with zeal unmatch'd,
 For fresh resource of murmur watch'd ;
 And when I found none in the Court,
 Have run into the City for't : 520
 And when the pliant government,
 Inclined to obviate discontent ;

Their

Their erring policy confess,
 And had it instantly redrest ;
 Then Hydra like, another head, 525
 Of grievance, started in its stead ;
 And when this last had been rescinded,
 Another still arose behind it ;
 Proceeding thus from bad to worse,
 The last still deem'd the greater curse ; 530
 And greatest clamour did excite,
 Infringing most the subjects right,
 Still opposite and prone to blame,
 What no precision could reclaim ;
 As if we pertinacious sought, 535
 To form a police without fault ;
 And deem'd allowance or restriction,
 A sign of party dereliction ;
 Esteeming those as foes propense,
 Who should allow an ounce of sense ; 540
 Or honesty, in church or state,
 But what arose from our debate.
 Hence 'tis the steady friends o' the nation,
 Receive ingrate remuneration ;
 And noblest actions on record, 545
 Meet obloquy for their reward ;
 And to eulogiums we demur,
 Where we think fit to cast a slur.
 Thus we th' integrity repel,
 And just decisions of Clonmel. 550
 Hence on thy learned breast Fitzgibbon,
 For band we hang a driv'lers Bib on.
 Nor more thy patriot worth confess,
 O Foster, since you curb'd the press.

Hence

Hence Slander to full vigour grown, 555
 Points its fly arrows 'gainst the throne;
 And crimes which former princes stain,
 Records, and dreads them in this reign.

Yet when addressing in petition,
 We still use words of great submission; 560
 A form with duteous phrases strung,
 Which live and die upon the tongue.
 'Tis true we should confine our jars
 To likelihood in characters.

Keep not to Factions friends confin'd,
 A Cicero's tongue, and Scipio's mind;
 Rob not Fitzgibbon of his parts; 565
 Nor Foster Hibernian hearts;
 Should give Clonmel his virtues too,
 Nor Mountjoy rob of his just due.

Nor should we make a Cincinnatus
 Of Grattan lest the world laugh at us. 575
 Of worthies thus to fix the Scale
 By our propensity to rail,
 And opposition make the Cause
 Of publick favour and applause.

Such ill placed honours will appear 580
 The Butt of ridicule and sneer;
 And make the honest man disdain,
 What ev'ry shuffling rogue may gain.

Now after all these hacknied tricks,
 Of Factions selfish politicks; 585
 Wh' alternate thwarted, and supported,
 Whate'er the Minister or Court did;
 Just as this flinching suited best,
 His own revenge or interest;

But

But still resentment did prefer,
T' integrity of character. 590

To modesty with what pretence,
Can we claim publick confidence ;
Who're still on the preferment scout,
Courtiers in place, and patriots out ;
Stedfast to both sides, nor retreated, 595
But as our views had been defeated ?

'Tis true there are implicit dupes,
To be found ev'ry where in troops ;
Who publick measures never scanning,
Are proper subjects for trepanning. 600
Of these the number is extreme,
So servile in their praise or blame ;
That whether they applaud or not,
I think a point not worth a groat ;
And am surpris'd to find you praise, 605
Such low eclat, and vical lays ;
So frequently bestow'd on fellows,
Who've got, or have deserv'd the gallows.

Th' address of that pragmatick clan,
Which form'd the Dundonald Divan ; 610
Who in Synodal rendezvouzes,
The cause Republican espouses ;
That good old cause, which sanctified,
Revolt to lay the Church aside ;
And which they hope (I hope in vain) 615
By wheed'ling you t' effect again ;
Th' insidious hint you had despis'd ;
But yearning to be idoliz'd.

The sinner who, to gain the whole
Creation, forfeited his soul ; 620
The

The scriptures as a fool proclaim,
 And say he play'd a losing game.
 E'n so, *Sedition*, if y' intend,
 T' accomplish, what these recommend ;
 I'll venture to prognosticate, 625
 That your's will be the sinner's fate.
 You'll run your head into a noose,
 And must instead of gaining lose :
 For if you thus should turn your coat,
 And help to cut the Churches throat ; 63
 You'll meet with independent grinning,
 For this your sacrilegious finning ;
 But this will give you small relief,
 In subsequent remorse and grief ;
 When you incur the detestation, 635
 Of all conformists in the nation.
 T' be execrated and abhorr'd,
 Was Julian's merited reward.
 'Tis true, these sly designs to screen,
 As well as cloak their jealous spleen ; 640
 They say 'tis not the sum, but mode
 Of paying it, that they explode.
 But did not all their predecessors,
 The old fanatical depressors,
 Of the episcopal devotion ; 645
 Make the same plea for their commotion ?
 And when they'd chous'd, cajol'd, ensnar'd,
 Those who th' establish'd Church rever'd ;
 And were not quite so bronz'd in forehead ;
 T' avow a treachery so horrid ; 650
 And found their party strong enough,
 To put their schemes to musquet proof ;

They

They then threw off the mask, and fell,
 Upon the Church like Imps of Hell;
 And were more fierce, in their invasion 655
 Of Clerick rights, than Dioclesian;
 Did seize, proscribe, and execute,
 And pluck her up in branch and root.

You wish to obviate dispute,
 And by some statute law commute, 660
 The present mode deriv'd from Jews,
 Of paying the Church revenues;
 To Christian Clergy so unpleasant,
 And so obnoxious to the peasant.

But since the project first began, 665
 You've not produc'd a single plan,
 Though call'd upon by Parliament,
 That's like to answer the intent.

Perhaps y'expect to muster friends,
 T' effectuate your own *no* ends; 670

To share the odium, and the shame,
 Of some absurd and partial scheme.

But how the poor's to be redress'd,
 And not the Clergyman distress'd;
 Has oft been tried, but never hit on, 675
 By th' wisest senatorial Briton.

Then with what confidence you dare,
 Assume t' yourself a greater share
 Of wisdom, to relieve the backs
 Of peasants, burthen'd with this tax; 680

And shew yourself the Clergy's friend,
 Is what I cannot comprehend;
 It looks like carrying a sham on,
 Or striving to serve God and Mammon.

But

But after all, we can't be sure, 685
 That to commute would work a cure.
 Dundonald clan, in their address,
 A diff'rent sentiment express;
 Their prayer extended to abolish,
 Remove for ever, and demolish. 690
 And others, still in plainer terms,
 Say Commutation but confirms.
 That tithes must quite be laid aside,
 Before they will be satisfied.
 Therefore respecting tithes, depend on't, 695
 You had much better make an end on't;
 And let them stand on the same bottom,
 They've stood upon since first we got 'em;
 And as by records it appears,
 They've stood upon a thousand years; 700
 And now no more industry shackle,
 Than when first given the Tabernacle;
 When God was King; or his Minister,
 Moses, must then have been sinister;
 When he, as from their God, prescribes 705
 This tithing to the Jewish tribes:
 Nor was it then by th' Israelites,
 Deem'd an infringement of their rights;
 Nor could they do't without arraigning
 God's Justice, in the thing ordaining. 710
 But as for those obnoxious Boroughs,
 The ground, you say, of all our sorrows;
 Have you so soon forgot the fate,
 Of the Congressional debate;
 Which form'd a Bill, that was o'erthrown, 715
 As coming from a power unknown;

From

From an extraneous usurpation,
 On th' Legislature of the nation.
 Which caused such obstinate obstruction,
 To this crude malapert production ; 720
 That not ten Members in the House,
 Were found the measure to espouse :
 And You, Sedition, as a proof,
 Of 'ts being improper, stood aloof ;
 And waited with precaution fly. 725
 Th' reception of this prodigy ;
 And in your circumspective way,
 Whilst others their efforts display,
 To recommend their fav'rite Hobby—
 —Horse, You kept sculking in the Lobby ; 730
 For which you was so justly twitted,
 By one you afterwards out-witted.

I therefore, as a friend, advise
 You'll leave the matter as it lies ;
 Or let some other patriot broach, 735
 What you neglected with reproach.
 To me those Boroughs, and their Members,
 Are similar to smother'd embers ;
 And as a spark retriev'd from ashes,
 And blown upon, revives and flashes ; 740
 And by its splendor does illumine,
 What had been envelop'd in gloom ;
 So Faction of this grief avails
 Himself, when other grievance fails ;
 Nor this incensor introduces, 745
 But in defect of fresh abuses ;
 It makes an opposition noise,
 As blithe as crackers do to boys.

But

But grievances so stale and trite,
 As Boroughs, pall the appetite ; 750
 Of patriotifm, grown fo squeamifh,
 And fo impatient too of blemifh ;
 That nothing but a Government,
 Without a flaw will give content ;
 And now we reprobate thofe meafures, 755
 Our predeceffors deem'd as treasures ;
 And what with freedom then confifted,
 Is now as flavery refifted ;
 Whilft thofe who once were rebels rated,
 Are now protectors eftimated ; 760
 And what was mild indulgence deem'd,
 Is perfecution now esteem'd.
 To men grown reftive thus and mulifh,
 The nobleft policy is foolifh ;
 Nor can a meafure intervene, 765
 To cure fuch ftate-quacks of their fpleen ;
 Or from fufpicion purge their pate,
 Of Ministerial Reprobate.

Since meafures moft upright and pure,
 Are ftill from error infecure ; 770
 And would be fo, though all the Peers,
 And Commoners, were Knights of Shires ;
 Since Oppofition doth fulfil,
 Or right or wrong its perverfe will ;
 And by eternal bickerings, 775
 Perplexes Minifters and Kings ;
 Makes the beft fchemes of Government,
 Oft prove abortive in th' event ;
 To men thus fraught with rage, and fears,
 No Court can long be in arrears ; 780

Or want innumerable faults,
 For the most virulent of assaults.
 Then why direct our ranc'rous flouts,
 Against th'impregnable redoubts,
 Of Tithes, and Boroughs ; fortified 785
 By ancient laws on ev'ry side ?
 And whilst religion is sack'd,
 Leave place and pension unattack'd ;
 On Boroughs spend our rage and fury,
 Whilst we're depriv'd of trials by Jury ; 790
 With other griefs of worse complexion,
 Than paying tithes, and Borough Election ?
 All which I confidently trust,
 Will now minutely be discuss.
 To-morrow our Whig Brethren meet, 795
 On grand consult and sumptuous treat ;
 From those shall best instructions flow,
 That patriot wisdom can bestow ;
 From their resolves and toasts transcendant,
 Your late addressing Independent ; 800
 And who from th' Heaven of courtiers fell,
 From places, into Faction's Hell ;
 May draw fresh hopes and consolation,
 To be reliev'd from desperation.
 And as we're told the German States, 805
 In all their national debates ;
 Are so precautions and precise,
 As t' hold their consultations twice ;
 First in the morning fresh and fasting,
 And afterwards they held the last, in 810
 The evening, when by gen'rous cheer,
 The timorous was raised from fear.

The

The first to guard against confusion,
 The last against irresolution.
 Our Whigs, just so, before their revels; 815
 In feasting clans select their cavils;
 And then when they have play'd the glutton,
 And Toper, on good wine and mutton;
 Their spirits brighten, and they shew't,
 By ev'ry brilliant Toast and Vote: 820
 And thus being sober both and fuddled,
 By these our State must be well modell'd.
 With their resolves we should comply,
 Nor stop to seek the reason why.
 When they tell when, and on what score, 825
 To raise the Opposition roar;
 Who most does clamour then, and bellow
 The loudest, is the clearest fellow;
 For this will much enhance his glory,
 'Twill prove him a staunch Ante-Tory; 830
 And that (tho' it should not be mention'd)
 Because he's neither plac'd nor pension'd.
 You'll stay to-night, and be my guest,
 And let us both retire to rest;
 If not recruited from fatigue, 835
 We can't to-morrow join the league;
 And Faction, and Sedition too,
 Not there, what can the others do?
 For as hand-organ is, at best
 As to externals, but a chest; 840
 Devoid of harmony or sound,
 Until the handle is turn'd round;
 By the practioner, as soon
 As previously he sets the tune;

So the *Frateria*, which composes 845
 Our Club, have eyes and mouths and noses;
 Are as t'external shapes and features,
 The same as other reas'ning creatures;
 But yet are perfect Dolts and Mutes,
 Unfit for politick disputes; 850
 Till Faction and Sedition fix,
 The tenor of their politicks.
 Then (like a swarming hive of Bees)
 They dance to any tune we please;
 And shew that on occasion, Whigs 855
 Can cling together upon twigs.

Thus Faction to Sedition said,
 And then commanded to be laid,
 In the same chamber, where they wear,
 The shaggy spoil of Russian Bear; 860
 A fox's skin, next, to divide
 This from a Lion's tawny hide;
 These heap'd together form a bed.
 Compos'd of black, and brown, and red;
 And tempers suited to dispense 865
 To th' pores, a mystic influence;
 And form a disposition fitting,
 T'assist at the approaching meeting.

THE
A R G U M E N T
OF THE
T H I R D C A N T O.

*Sedition having eas'd his breast,
By Faction join'd, retir'd to rest ;
When both were rous'd by Visitors,
With whom they'd like to goe by th' ears ;
But by Cajoling and submissness,
Faction got rid o' the wrangling business.*

C A N T O III.

Now Sol being sunk below th' horison,
Left little day to ope their eyes on ;
The glimm'rings of departing light,
Were fading fast upon the sight ;
And whilst half sleep, half weak they lay, 5
The last faint gleam had died away.
That is, in english plain, 'twas night,
Before their sleep was finish'd quite.
The clock an octave struck, twice four,
When rous'd by the rebounding door ; 10
A fervant

A Servant in the Chamber bouncing,
 And *Rupius*'s near approach anouncing.
 Admit him then. But let's have light ;
 I fear, says Faction, all's not right ;
 This visit from a luke-warm friend, 15
 Doth something ominous portend.

Rupius and candles now appear,
 With *Cats-paw* stalking in the rear ;
 When Faction at their near approach,
 With air confus'd rose from his Couch ; 20
 Receiv'd, and then return'd salutes,
 And all for some time stood like mutes.

Faction at length, assum'd the Chair,
 This being his custom ev'ry where ;
 First bids his visitors sit down, 25
 And then dispelling anxious frown,
 Thus silence broke.—Declare what is it,
 Brought me the favour of this visit ?
 Does th' foe of national reform,
 And all his patricidal swarm ; 30
 Against our Club a war proclaim,
 Intent to disappoint our aim,
 T' annihilate the usurpation
 Of Court, on th' freedom of the nation ;
 And to relieve the publick purse, 35
 From tithes and pensionary curse ;
 Those grievous measures of this reign,
 Which congress lately (but in vain)
 Did struggle hard to have redrest ;
 But by the parliament suppress ; 40
 And by the Court interposition,
 Was forc'd t' abandon the Commission;

On

On which they had been ; sent and chose,
 As patriotick Plenepo's
 Of men, by some deem'd reprobate, 45
 Lawless and excommunicate ;
 Devoid of civil pow'r, or station,
 To authorise such delegation.

Or is our Club, which meets tomorrow,
 To renovate our grief and sorrow ; 50
 When by the Court it is perceiv'd,
 How few have resolutely cleav'd ;
 To our concerted plan of seizing,
 All opportunities of teasing
 The Court ; and putting on the tenters, 55
 All measures that displease Dissenters ?
 For if our patriot opposition,
 Displays a slender acquisition ;
 As the last Congress did at meeting,
 Whose vacant seats caused sneers and greeting 60
 (1) At Court ; so if our club proves thin,
 'Twill yield fresh matter for a grin ?
 Speak then, my friend, suspense expell ;
 That mental torment worse than Hell ;
 He said.—And now with action flow, 65
 And courting favour with a bow ;
 Rupius began—The griefs you mourn,
 Which caused the congress to adjourn ;
 I think we still shall groan beneath,
 From discord which our Whig-Clubs breathe. 70
 Fresh members have been chosen, 'tis true,
 But unimportant ones, and few ;
 And though to gorge and guzzle fit,
 Endow'd with little sense or wit ;

Which

Which gives some people room to think, 75
 That men grow whigs to eat and drink;
 And which th' affirm, to be the grand
 Cementing principle, O' the Band.
 And this can hardly be denied,
 By th' warmest friends on our own side. 80
 For what (I should be glad to know)
 Can Cits, and Country Bumpkins do?
 Unless it be t' excite some jealous
 Ferments, amongst their Cater-fellows;
 Who are delighted with such prattle, 85
 As boys with sound of drum, or rattle;
 For nothing gives a Vulgar Wight,
 By half such pleasure and delight;
 As being assur'd that Rulers Scurvy,
 Are turning all things topsy-turvy; 90
 And being convinc'd, as sure's a gun,
 The kingdom's ruin'd and undone.
 But what advantage can accrue,
 From members, whether much or few;
 If they're not rich, nor great, nor wise, 95
 Can only tope, and gormandize;
 Abuse the minister, and bluster,
 And be but cyphers in a muster?
 Howe'er the Club may boast, no Whig
 Of this description's, worth a fig. 100
 When periodick news proclaims,
 New Christen'd Whigs, with only names,
 And diff'rent features of the face,
 Devoid of any efficacy;
 Or character; to take them out, 105
 O' the middle class of rabble rout;

When

When th' Worlds inform'd that such good folks,
 Are chosen Whigs, as John O'Nokes ;
 And 's cousin in law, nam'd *Peter Stiles*,
 What mortal can refrain from smiles ? 110
 Heraclitus himself would try,
 Into a laugh to change his cry ;
 And like Democritus grow jolly,
 And titter at such Whiggish folly.

But what a fund of mirth and sport, 115
 Must such a list afford the Court ;
 When it exhibits to the view
 Of Lords and Commoners so few ?
 And those impell'd more from the flight
 Of Court ; than to set matters right ; 120
 —The poor remains of Dupes, and Choufes,
 Of th' Regent business, in both houses.
 And now like Geese depriv'd of feather,
 On common turn'd to flock together ;
 Of penury to feel the Stings, 125
 With feathers only on the wings ;
 Whilst wiser folks are well equipt,
 With what from off their backs was stript.
 The rest in politicks but pedlers,
 Mere party-scouts, and intermedlers ; 130
 Who run, like occulists, about,
 To clear the eyes o' the purblind rout ;
 That grievances they might see plain,
 Existing only in their brain.

But why so simple as to mention, 135
 Th' abortive Congress and convention ?
 Art thou of complaints so bound in hide,
 Canst vent no other grief beside?

Are

Are there no law in faction's brewing,
 T'accelerate the publick ruin? 140
 No false pretence to screen a band,
 From th' gallows; or being sent abroad?
 No charter breach, or city squabble,
 To exercise your vein to dabble,
 In matters, which, or right or wrong, 145
 To State Reformers dont belong?
 Are there no Police screen or carpet,
 To raise your envy; whet, and sharp it?
 No rent in thrift that wants a stitch in,
 No famish'd mouse in Castle Kitchen, 150
 No rusty Ward o'er Cellar door,
 To keep the wine within Secure;
 No patriot to extoll, as high as,
 That Phoenix of all worth, Amias?
 Could your impolicy find out, 155
 No other civil deed to flout;
 But that which carried on its face,
 Outrage on law, and Whig disgrace?
 For he who views that froward zeal,
 The maladies of state to heal; 160
 Esteem'd it justly as the pranks,
 And fooleries of mountebanks.
 Nor was the congress at Dungannon,
 (Much less oblig'd to th' River Shannon;
 Whose sov'reign virtue's understood, 165
 To bronze the face 'gainst blushing blood)
 More from such fopperies exempt,
 Or less deserving of contempt.
 But without charging that transaction,
 As constitutional infraction; 170
 Not

Not to propriety attending,
 But on the force of arms depending :
 Nor yet against their votes protesting,
 As futile and uninteresting ;
 And disregarded as a Ditty, 175
 Of Ballad-Singers in a city ;
 And which, with little variation,
 Would suit all kingdoms in th' Creation ;
 And, as a reprimand, would suit,
 All reigns from George to Hardiknute. 180
 Let's turn our eyes to the Epoch,
 O' the Congress, first dispos'd t' encroach,
 On parliament, by taking shares,
 In th' management of state affairs ;
 And from its rise with candour trace, 185
 Its frauds, and shifts to its disgrace.

A Petty fogging Politician,
 Draws up a solemn requisition ;
 Fill'd with atrocious complaints,
 'Gainst ministerial miscreants ; 190
 Appointing time and place t' elect,
 Fit men th' abuses to correct :
 And when at meeting, the design
 Of this refract'ry Cataline ;
 Was like to meet an overthrow, 195
 For want of hands to make a shew ;
 They fell upon a paltry shift,
 To help them out at that dead lift.
 As chosen authoris'd Trustees,
 Of Independent Absentees 200
 'Taws *Nem Con* voted and agreed,
 That sev'ral Copies of the deed

Should

Should be trauscrib'd and sent about,
 To find sufficient signers out.
 The deeds were then dispatch'd apace, 205
 To private house, and publick place;
 Produc'd by agents; and hung up,
 In meeting house, and brandy shop;
 The diff'rent visiters t' invite,
Of New, or old, or of No Light; 210
 The Sons of God, or of the Devil,
 No matter which; to stem the evil:
 And though they did not read a line,
 O' the deed they were requir'd to sign;
 And though they could not read or spell, 215
 Their mark did answer just as well;
 To swell the number was sufficient,
 To shew how they had been commission'd.
 It serv'd t' legitimate the choice,
 And pass'd as if the county voice; 220
 Enabled them to shift and sculk,
 Behind a suffrage giv'n in a bulk.
 But yet how infamous th' expedient,
 That men, to their own calls obedient,
 Should meet, and chuse themselves to meet, 225
 In Congress as the most discreet?
 And yet such delegates as those,
 Each lawles Congress did compose.
 A list of freeholders five hundred,
 Might seem as if the County thunder'd, 230
 But of Mechanicks twice that number,
 Whose names the publick prints incurber
 With half a dozen in the muster,
 Whose fortunes to the rest give lustre;

Can on that cause confer no honour, 235
 When such low shifts are forced upon her.
 The neighbourhood, who know the signers,
 Detest such Government refiners ;
 Such leather apron politicians,
 Cow-killers, Shavers, Horse-physicians ; 240
 Farmers of acres five, or six,
 Who know no more of politicks ;
 Than their domestick pig of staticks,
 Or other branch of Mathematicks :
 And ev'n abroad their credit's lame, 245
 'Cause other counties do the same ;
 Exhibit in their lists, a rabble,
 Like Gordon's base and formidable.

(2) Such purblind patriots as those,
 Who never look beyond their nose ; 250
 Nor other information use,
 But party lies in publick news ;
 In whom, of politicks, the science,
 Has put all reason to defiance ;
 With ease such men are chang'd and chopt, 255
 To what their richer friends adopt ;
 Whose wealth, not wisdom, works conviction,
 Beyond mechanick contradiction.

If Faction now the cause requires,
 Of the defection in our shires ; 260
 Why the once Arbiters of Freedom,
 Do keep aloof when most we need'em ;
 Or from what motives, or capriches,
 Those Demi-patriots left their niches ;
 And though once canoniz'd, disdain, 265
 To represent their friends again ?

It is because the volunteers,
 Went all together by the ears;
 Exerting each his wit and mettle,
 A parliament reform to settle; 270
 (3) When ev'ry scheme each member brought,
 In his own flimsy Noddle wrought;
 Must be distinctly read and canvast,
 Whilst he for 'ts excellence did stand fast;
 And this in Senatorial shape, 275
 Like reason mimick'd by an Ape:
 And then lest speeches which were made,
 Should not be told upon parade;
 To make the company rejoice,
 In the great wisdom of their choice; 280
 Admission tickets were dispers'd,
 To hear this mighty farce rehears'd;
 And that no vote or speech might slip,
 Unnoticed from a patriot lip;
 Were introduced the Beaux and Belle, 285
 Who ev'ry circumstance might tell;
 Or that the Orator more ready,
 Might speak in presence of his Lady.
 As cocks, however game, when Cow'd,
 Their heads with some safe tegment shroud; 290
 But bring a hen into their fight,
 They'll gather courage, crow, and fight.
 —And then such pompous cavalcades,
 (4) Of military masquerades;
 Such riding, marching, and arraying, 295
 And more than regal honours paying;
 To those transcendent Legislators,
 By their original Creators;

Whose

Whose overflow of veneration,
 O'erthrew their sanguine expectation ; 300
 And did their dictatorial power,
 With shame and infamy devour :
 Forc'd them confus'dly to retreat,
 From those they purpos'd to brow-beat.
 These and more reasons still behind, 305
 Have made the prudent disinclin'd.
 To undertake what in conclusion ;
 Must terminate in their confusion.
 — *Must !* Says Faction, pray and why *Must*,
 Are not our requisitions just ; 310
 What are we seeking but those rights,
 The want of which all freedom blights ?
 The rights of constitutions free,
 Respecting life and liberty ;
 Which when the governors deny, 315
 The govern'd may to force apply.
 The rights of liberty and life,
 Will always recompence the strife ;
 And by redoubled satisfaction,
 Reward that virtue brought to action. 320
 But still those patriot differences,
 Almost deprive me of my senses ;
 My daily study's to deery them,
 As our designs are hurt'd by them.
 But what can he presume to hope, 325
 Who must with obstinacy cope ?
 The streams that feed the Themes and Nile,
 We may with as much ease compile ;
 In one great ocean, as to bind ;
 In one opinion all mankind. 330

That

That parliament reform is wanted,
 I think is generally granted ;
 But how that business to comprise,
 'Tis here the difficulty lies.
 In this it is we are divided, 335
 And nothing like to be decided.
 'Tis here our interests, and here,
 Our education's interfere ;
 Here all the epithets in vogue,
 As *Traitor, Castle-Hack, and Rogue* ; 340
 And such as party rage provide,
 Are given by one to tother side.
 (5) O that in Lethe might be drown'd,
 The mem'ry of that mortal wound ;
 To faction given, when G——n first, 345
 On F——d with rage impetuous burst ;
 Whilst F——d in turn, with double use,
 Repaid the Billings-gate abuse.

Flood who has prov'd his country's friend,
 From the beginning to the end ; 350
 Of his political career,
 Devoid of selfish views or fear.
 Who realiz'd what he profess'd,
 By his munificent bequest.
 Perennial premiums to disperse, 355
 To cultivate our native Erse ;
 And th' long fled Genius of the nation,
 Bring back t' the rising generation.
 Still for his country's glory thinking,
 Though nature into ruin Sinking. 360
 And yet this man by Whig accumen,
 Degraded to a Demi-numen.

And

And all his gen'rous acts and noble,
 Abas'd to Grattan's Vap'rous Bubble;
 Which like the South-Sea scheme of old, 365
 A knave enrich'd and th' state cajol'd;
 Such the absurd, and purblind choice,
 Of patriots by publick voice,
 And such th' unjust remuneration,
 Of Whigs t' the real friends O' the nation: 370
 That this his Country's Benefactor,
 Gives place t' his politick detractor;
 The man who did the state enrich,
 Slighted for her Blood sucking Leech.
 From hence what Joy did courtiers borrow, 375
 But Patriots alas! What sorrow.
 (6) Whilst whores are thus impeach'd by Clodius,
 We're infamous become and odious;
 The friends of Faction this provokes,
 And furnishes her foes with jokes; 380
 Whilst the half patriot takes occasion,
 From hence to shew his moderation:
 But those who truly love the cause,
 And value popular applause;
 All prejudices should lay down, 385
 Except it be against the Crown.
 'Gainst government alone unite,
 To exercise their spleen and spite.
 But if through private views or pique,
 Some plea for being remiss we seek; 390
 And wont unite and run together,
 Like puppies coupled with a tether;
 But chuse to fight with tooth and nails,
 Like cats when fasten'd by their tails;

Then separate let ev'ry man, 395
 Pursue his own seditious plan.
 The poor, the rich, the fool, the knave,
 May be in opposition brave;
 In his own way may propagate,
 Disgust against the Church and State. 400
 For as in christian sects, 'tis known,
 Though each has doctrines of her own;
 Yet fundamentals still remain,
 Which in all sects their ground maintain.
 In politicks just so, we may 405
 Pursue one plan a diff'rent way;
 For though we are not all agreed,
 In patriot principles and Creed;
 Yet those replete with spleen and spite,
 Against the court, are always right. 410

Let ev'ry one then, tho' he differ
 In private views, yet stand the stiffer;
 In opposition, and combine,
 The Court intrigues to undermine;
 Unite in the insulting cry, 415
 Of *Corrupt, Venal Ministry*.
 Let each his diff'rent measure blame,
 Some arbitrary act proclaim;
 And though improbable the lie,
 I'll stamp it with reality. 420

Quoth *Cats-paw*, that you cannot do;
 You've lost your pow'r and credit too;
 You pledg'd your troth so often o'er,
 That it will current pass no more.
 You're so attach'd to party views, 425
 So prone our confidence t' abuse;

What

What you affirm or what deny,
 Your mouth still tinctures with a lie.
 This charge is just, although severe,
 And you may treat it with a sneer. 430

'Tis patriot like, when you're exempt,
 From a defence, to feign contempt;
 And with buffoonery and jests
 To treat, what claims a reas'ning test.

Was it not you, with eyes of Argus, 435
 Who said you saw at Carrickfergus;
 Of Volunteers a motly crew,
 (7) Church-men, Dissenters, Papists too;
 United in one Corps or Band,
 Which diff'rent sectaries command? 440

Was it not you who once reported,
 Some Roman Catholics resorted;
 At Newry, without dread or fear,
 O'Hanlon seated in the Chair;
 (8) And made them form a resolution, 445
 Repugnant to the Constitution;
 That Roman Cath'licks had a right,
 In arm'd Battallions to unite?

Was it not you, to serve your end,
 Propos'd a suffrage to extend; 450
 To Roman Catholics, and when
 Oppos'd, gave up their cause again?
 And then with kind recommendations,
 You bid them exercise their patience;
 (9) Their claims to future days suppress, 455
 Not interrupt their friends success.

To see your views in this advice,
 Demands not a precisian nice.

By these your friendly condescensions,
 You hop'd t' effect your own intentions; 460
 Then leave the mas-house, and the church,
 Like true Cromelians in the lurch;
 And when You've wrought both their undoing,
 Build Independence on their ruin.

'Tis common in requests to see, 465
 Some shew at least of modesty;
 But this insidious behest,
 Is petty tyranny at best:
 'Tis worse; for tyrants still t' impose,
 Their heaviest burthen, on their foes; 470
 Whilst you who freedoms cause defend,
 In freedom circumscribe your friend;
 Yet with effrontery demand,
 That Cath'licks lend a helping hand;
 To work that reformation, which 475
 Must you alone, not them enrich;
 As the Potosi Indian's gain,
 Enrich not them but Dons of Spain.

And thus the politicians part
 You top, who would by strokes of art; 480
 Procure, and still retain allies,
 Although their int'rests you despise.

But from what ancient hist'ry tells,
 Of Independent principles;
 And from what modern hist'ry writes, 485
 (10) Of Boston Saints, and Gordonites;
 From what the Roman Cath'licks feel,
 This day from Caladonian zeal;
 There's something more than bare suspicion,
 We would be in a worse condition; 490
 Should

Should you, by this reform, curtail,
 As you expect, th' establish'd pale ;
 And get that freedom in your power,
 Which ne'er was granted to this hour ;
 By Independent congregation, 495
 Supported by the laws O' the nation.

If fair professions would avail,
 Then where so plausible a tale ;
 As you and Crony there, Sedition,
 Have told for gen'ral imposition ? 500
 But facts are stubborn and will rise,
 Superior to all fallacies.

Did you not say the first objections,
 To Cath'licks voting at elections ;
 For Representatives, arose 505
 First from Aristocratick foes ;
 Whereas 'tis plain that vet'ran Peer,
 And Idol of the Volunteer ;
 That mimick Gen'ral of Reviews,
 Did first of all consent refuse. 510

(11) Was it not you, I ask, Sedition,
 Who pertly sign'd your own commission ;
 To constitute yourself the mouth
 Of Catholicks from North to South ;
 Without a single delegation, 515
 Of private Club, or Congregation ;
 Did confidently, in the name
 Of all, a suffrage vote disclaim ?

(12) And lest th' affirm should not suffice,
 Once made ; repeat the falsehood twice ? 520
 As those most prone to lie, and swear,
 Will most in falsehood persevere.

T'uphold

T' uphold your credit if you can,
 Shew the society, or man ;
 Who authorised by that profession, 525
 Has of this priv'lege made concession :
 Why did not those men whom you mention,
 Step forward at your fam'd convention ;
 Disclaim this civil franchise there,
 When it was claim'd by Lord K——re? 530
 Why do they not step forward now,
 And rights of freemen disavow ?
 'Till these renouncers you supply,
 You're charg'd with an officious lie.

But you go further still, and jibe, 535
 The whole of that religious tribe ;
 And brand them as a paltry rabble,
 (13) To bear this voting yet unable.
 You make them *Easau's*-Heaven-rejected,
 Yourselves the *Jacob's*-Heaven-elected ; 540
 Bid them like those unfortunate,
 Submit with patience to their fate ;
 And when by their assistance, you
 Obtain the influence in your view ;
 That then it is your fix'd intendance, 545
 To make them heirs of Independence ;
 If in the interim their tribe,
 A soul republican imbibe.

So have I known two boys, in quest
 Of some accessible birds nest ; 550
 When one with more exalted eye,
 Perceives one built in tree so high ;
 He could not to the prize ascend,
 Without th' assistance of his friend.

A pause

A pause ensued; when now the bolder, 555
 Propos'd to mount the others shoulder;
 And if this help he would allow,
 So he might reach the nether bough;
 He would with him divide the spoil, 560
 Though his the danger was and toil.
 It was agree'd.—One stoop'd, one mounted,
 The next was seiz'd the young ones counted;
 when thus the rogue himself exprest;
The birds are mine, and yours the nest.
 Thus Catholicks you mean to treat, 565
 And thus you would cajole and cheat.
 Sedition whose indignant soul,
 Now glow'd within him like a coal;
 Could scarce refrain till Cats-paw ended,
 To show how much he was offended, 570
 How disappointed in the hopes,
 He built upon his labour'd tropes;
 Since some were still perversely furd,
 Would give no credit to his word;
 But meant t' employ their eyes and ears, 575
 And not be influenced by fears.
 But as hypocrisy and coaxing,
 Were the best modes to draw such folks in;
 He thought it best to curb his ire, 580
 At his impeachment as a liar?
 And to outbrazen this disgrace,
 With impudence alone and face;
 For breasts, which patriot fury rifles,
 Pay no attendance to such trifles. 585
 He therefore with complacent smile,
 Which stubborn Sceptick might beguile;

And

And which credulity entices,
 Being unsuspicious of devices ;
 Again calls forth that subtle lore, 590
 Which oft he exercised before.

For sly chicane had brought him up,
 To juggling tricks of Ball and Cup ;
 Taught him to twist, and turn, and hide,
 To make the better the worse side ; 595
 T' establish lies by forc'd evictions,
 And turn to curses benedictions.

So when a stream meandring flows,
 And gifts irriguous bestows ;
 It fructifies the neighb'ring ground, 600
 And spreads luxuriant verdure round ;
 The Current murmuring and clear,
 Delights the eye and charms the ear.
 But when in reservoir collected,
 And thence by pipes of art ejected ; 605
 Although it spreads in peacocks tails,
 Yet still the Hiss our ear assails ;
 Whilst those who near access apprise,
 Receive its spurt full in their eyes.

And now he spoke—Thou who preside 610
 In our consults, and measures guide :
 To you Sedition now applies,
 For who so just as you, and wise ?
 Faction ! 'Tis you who well doth know,
 I ne'er to Cats-paw was a foe ; 615
 But to my bosom here I bend
 Him, as confederate and friend.
 It grieves me Cats-paw, grieves me much,
 That you should think my conduct such ;

As

As if with double face of Janus, 620
 To please the knaves that would trepan us ;
 I should propose t' incorporate,
 In all the priv'leges of state ;
 The members of the popish church,
 Then leave them basely in the lurch. 625

'Tis true, this gen'ral franchise plan,
 With our own party first began ;
 If to oblige ourselves or you,
 It matters not which of the two ; 630
 But from its primary adoption,
 It my concurrence had and option ;
 Nor from the plan had I yet flown,
 But could not stem the tide alone ;
 And he who is compell'd may claim, 635
 A full exemption from all blame.

You'll say in pleading my excuse,
 I load our party with abuse ;
 Or think the crime is mitigated,
 Because by numbers perpetrated. 640
 Not so—The temper of the times
 I plead t' extenuate the crimes ;
 And as man scruples not to maim,
 His own contaminated frame ;
 And lose a gangren'd leg or arm, 645
 To save the trunk from further harm,
 So when the body politick,
 Is constitutionally sick ;
 If all the members can't be cured,
 This remedy must be endured ; 650
 And some must suffer amputation,
 For the whole body's preservation ;

Without

Without being discontent or sorry,
 Since *Dulce est pro patria mori.*

In politicks a change of mind, 655
 Is as in nature change of wind.

If still one way the wind did blow,
 'Twould instantly infectious grow;

Distempers too in a dominion,
 Grow fatal oft by one opinion. 660

He who through plastick nature ranges,
 Will find such elemental changes.

The Sun to North one half year shines,
 To South the other half inclines.

The diff'rent blasts too of monsoons, 665
 From land at night from sea at noons;

North-æst from April to September,
 Then the reverse, if I remember.

May not the tropical mutation,
 Fix'd by the Author of creation; 670

May not this plan of perfect nature,
 Be blameless follow'd by the Creature?

If in the nat'ral world we see,
 Charms in irregularity;

Why should men captious be and quarrel, 675
 For such mutations in the moral?

Then let him prove the thing that can,
 What's wright in God is wrong in man.

It can't be prov'd—Then tricks of state,
 Will change in us necessitate;

And make it right to have arraign'd, 680
 those measures which we once maintain'd.

I own I've labour'd this excuse,
 Because I've suffer'd much abuse;

By

By night, by day, Summer and winter,
 I'm lash'd by periodick printer ; 685
 And whilst I'm striving to support
 The Reformation, 'gainst the court ;
 By lies, by lungs, by pen, by purse,
 No mortal can be treated worse.

He said—But Cats-paw to prepare,
 His friends against Seditions Snare ;
 And sophistry, to Vindicate
 By nature's laws his base retreat ;
 Disburthen'd his indignant breast,
 And thus with warmth himself express. 695

Thy strong propensity and passion,
 For raising feuds throughout the nation ;
 For counteracting ev'ry plan,
 That is not quite republican ;
 And for subverting ev'ry thing, 700
 Denounced the rights of church and king ;
 Proclaim the wishes and intentions,
 Of such as forward the conventions.
 When Delegates are chose like you,
 (And all are such except a few ; 705
 Who in the business of reform,
 Not quite so forward are and warm ;
 Yet run like beagles on the scent,
 Foresee as little the event ;
 Or what it is they are pursuing, 710
 But run because they hear Hallooing)
 When such, I say, as you're deputed,
 To rectify those evils rooted ;
 By time in our distemper'd state,
 And ev'ry grievance dissipate ; 715

To

To prudence this so het'rodox is,
 'Tis like committing geese to foxes;
 Or sheep to wolves, as best to mould,
 The common wealth of the sheep fold.

'Tis indisputably decided, 720
 That honesty is well divided;
 And knav'ry bears a just equation,
 'Twixt Whigs and Tories thorough the nation.

The man of penetration sees,
 In vice and virtue large degrees; 725
 That Chastity or Lust prevails,
 Not equally in all females;

Nor yet in men do we find all,
 Thrifty alike or prodigal,
 And yet all patriots, 'tis attested, 730
 Are led by motives disint'rested;

Altho as vary their occasions,
 They fly to shuffling and evasions;
 And not one patriot decision
 In ten; but like a baseless Vision, 735
 Before mature reflection flies,

As the offspring of Reveries.
 With indignation then we find,
 The one when out of place combin'd
 Those very projects to cry down, 740

Which if in place would be their own:
 'Tis said the publick interest,
 Is forwarded by this contest.

But penetration must deny't,
 And find the nation injur'd by't 745
 That th' weal would be more general,
 Were there no party feuds at all.

This

This would be wonderful, 'tis true,
 When private int'rest still's in view ;
 And th' common int'rest of the land, 750
 Deem'd business but at second hand.

So man first form'd for Heaven's delight,
 Renounc'd that bliss for appetite ;
 And his descendants ever since,
 The same improvidence evince ; 755
 For boast of patriot acts who will
 And disint'restedness, yet still
 Our passions and our actions prove,
 Our views remote are all self love
 And all the eccentricities, 760
 In men however just and wise,
 Though wide expanded or contracted,
 Are still for private ends transacted.
 So many circles are from one
 Fix'd point, within each other drawn ; 765
 And the minutest in its lines
 Whate'er the greatest does, confines
 As in Sorcerian rites the pimps
 Of Hell, confine Infernal Imps.
 For selfish principles debase, 770
 The major part of human race ;
 Who present good prefer to those,
 Which in reversion Heaven bestows.
 And hence in party faith, a Change
 Occurs too frequent to be strange ; 775
 And all political connections,
 So blended are with imperfections,
 That none but men devoid of sense,
 Afford them any confidence.

'Tis

'Tis easy to set bounds to tricks, 780
 Of opposition politicks;
 But its depravity is found,
 Uncircumscrib'd, and without bound;
 Whilst ante-ministerial Science,
 Puts truth and candour to defiance. 785
 A steadiness might compensate,
 For imperfections of the pate;
 But when enlarged abilities,
 All steady principles despise;
 There can n' appology be made, 790
 For such a selfish Renegade;
 Who gives inferiors such an ample
 Excuse, to follow his example.
 We're told that *Fratrum unitas*,
 Is likely soon to come to pass; 795
 That the Whig-Clubs are to unite,
 In celebration of a rite;
 That is to offer sacrifice
 To Concord; and to exorcise
 That mercenary Cacodæmon, 800
 Much better understood by Mammon;
 The author of that foul defection,
 In Representative election;
 And th' mischievous obstructions frequent,
 To opposition measures, sequent; 805
 By chusing men whose chief intention,
 Is to betray them for a pension.
 To obviate this, they'll form a test,
 That each will run before the rest;
 And be more clam'rous in the chace, 810
 'Gainst Sycophants in quest of place:

When

When th' turbulent will toil and labour,
 With his less acrimonious neighbour;
 And th' weak in cavil and debate,
 With scarcely sense to know his rate, 815
 Will readily join hand in hand,
 With those who better understand;
 The art of stirring up the coals
 Of fear, and making dupes by shoals.
 When vinegar will blend with oil, 820
 The more effectually t' embroil;
 And Doves with Serpents, Wolves with Lambs,
 Will sport, as young ones and their dams;
 And by this het'rogenious feast,
 Shew miracles are not yet ceas'd. 825

To find a man like you so warm,
 And thus fermenting as 'twere Barm;
 Though we must indignation feel,
 I own some praise is due t' your zeal.
 Your friends receive some happiness, 830
 To be supported in distress;
 To have an anxious friend so ready,
 To plead their cause when they're too heady
 And into a dilemma falling,
 By legislating thus, and brawling. 835
 Your heart in this claims our respects,
 But none is due t' your intellects.
 But so it is, when passions reign,
 We look for prudent acts in vain;
 For then we find the jaundic'd eye, 840
 Small objects doth so magnify;
 That man becomes a slave to fears,
 Of self originate Bugbears.

• To cure this mania of the brain,
 Sound reas'ning has been tried in vain; 845
 Nor have men found the poignant satire
 Efficient to deserve—*Probatur!*
 Despotick fears is the disease;
 Which interrupt the social glees
 Of festive Whigs; fear'd, and undone, 850
 As was the King of Babylon;
 With self-imaginary evils,
 And combating with self-made Devils.
 Or as the Hypochondriac,
 In dread his chamber-floor would crack; 855
 'Cause his distemper made it pass,
 In 's mind as if compos'd of glass;
 Prohibiting all rough and agile,
 Approaches on a floor so fragile;
 Left it should break, and he should fall 860
 Head-long from chamber to the hall.
 But friends who could not long endure
 This whim, without attempts t' a cure;
 Laid hands upon him, and did bump,
 Upon the chamber-floor his rump. 865
 The indignation and surprise,
 Brought back his mental faculties;
 And what not reas'ning could reclaim,
 Was brought about by smart and shame.
 By friendship led I fain would try, 870
 Like these a hopeful remedy.
 As unto men in sober senses,
 A drunken object an offence is;
 And gives a powerful monition,
 T' avoid so brutish a condition; 875
 And

And like a miracle, has wrought
 A reformation in a fot.
 So I by laying 'fore your eyes,
 Your patriot absurdities ;
 Declare my motive and intent, is 880
 To reinstate you *Compos. mentis* ;
 And by this friendly act reprieve you
 From Bedlam gaping to receive you,
 Where self-made monarchs crown'd with straws,
 Turn sovereign guardains of the laws, 885
 And rectify with frantick pains,
 What's only wrong in their own brains.
 But whether if 'twas tried, a few
 Smart applications of the shoe,
 To the mock-patriot below, 890
 Would work a cure as well, or no ;
 And all his grievances redress,
 Is more than I shall say or guess.
 But as th' disease with which he's curs'd,
 Is but an ague fit revers'd ;
 In which the hot has precedence, 895
 And doth before the cold commence ;
 And as the hot fit's past, and th' crisis
 O' th' cold commenc'd ; then my advice is,
 Give no catharticks, nor let blood,
 For these, in agues, are not good ; 900
 But stead of such evacuations,
 When e'er they meet in consultations,
 Like mountebanks on state affairs,
 Perhaps if they were kicked down stairs ;
 And serv'd like Swifts consult of quacks, 905
 'Twould put a period to their clacks.

But honestly without evasion,
 Say if th' episcopal persuasion;
 As 'tis establish'd in the state,
 Be not the object of your hate? 910
 And if you get your scheme effected,
 This limb is not to be dissected;
 As being the fountain and support,
 Of the corrupted streams of court?

To bring religion in the case,
 Of a reform, we're told is base.
 And yet your party's expectations,
 Have run away with all your patience.
 For scarce an ulster public print,
 Appears without a menace in't; 915
 A threat that you will soon bring under,
 The clerick sons of tithes and plunder;
 (14) When the reform which you espouse,
 With Independents fills the house.
 Though not less sanguine, yet more cunning; 920
 And not before the issue running:
 You the reform alone have prest,
 Yet secretly you hope the rest.
 You write in the reform's defence
 Then leave the rest to providence; 925
 In mem'ry Cromwell's days revive,
 And hope to see them soon arrive.

Though of the established church but few,
 Are practis'd in deep schemes like you;
 And unsuspecting took their seats, 930
 Among dissenting deligates;
 Yet some begin with sharper eyes,
 To penetrate what you devise;

To

To answer your insidious pages,
 By coping this with former ages ; 935
 (15) And asking if Hibernians are
 Less free than their forefathers were ?

If property is more assail'd,
 Or rights of conscience more curtail'd?
 If Britons can a freedom boast, 940

Hibernians never had, or lost ?
 Impartially who sifts this matter,
 Answers each query with *Negatur*.
 Hence then your tropes like leaves are found ;
 In Autumn sapless, noise, and sound ; 945
 Or like the hail in summers day,
 Which soon as't falls dissolves away.

He said——When Faction tried to close all
 These bickerings by a proposal.
 To find religious feuds derange, 950

The plans of Faction, is not strange ;
 Mammon's we know, and god's behests,
 Are form'd on diff'rent interests ;
 Yet each have their respective pupils,
 Who in their service find no scruples. 955

Just so the patriots find themselves,
 Oppos'd by antepatriot elves ;
 Hence in our struggles, 'tis confess'd,
 We still come off but second best ;
 But this, 'tis hop'd, is no portent 960
 Of ill success in the event :

None but the timid patriot draws,
 From hence miscarriage to our cause.
 To be outvoted is no sign,
 On which side justice does incline ; 965

More then it proves a weak man wrong,
 Who has been vanquish'd by a strong.
 To fix the right from the wrong side,
 We've too much prejudice and pride;
 And which is likely to prevail, 970
 In th' end, suspends in fortune's scale.
 As some suppose th' affairs of state,
 Irrevocably fix'd by Fate;
 If this be so, attempts t' invert,
 Its laws must futile be, and pert. 975
 Why ev'ry nerve then should strain,
 In quest of what we can't obtain?
 Why such exertions of the Soul,
 For what the Fates may yet controul?
 Let's first endeavour to find out, 980
 If we can bring our plan about;
 And by what measures unessay'd,
 A game more sure may yet be play'd:
 For though, immutable the laws
 Of Fate, thye're govern'd by second cause; 985
 And man must still co-operate,
 T' effect the firm resolves of Fate.
 Why then with choler do we glow,
 About what Fate has fix'd below?
 Let's from our selves an envoy send, 990
 To wait on Fates familiar friend;
 The Hag *Canidia*, much renoun'd,
 For skill in mysteries profound;
 Whom I propose we should consult,
 To know events to us occult; 995
 And who so fit for this commission,
 As this my zealous friend Seditious?

I move

I move that he this service render,
 And go to th' modern *Witch* of *Endor* ;
 And first to fee, and then direct her, 1000
 To raise in shape of the Protector;
 The Regent of Infernal Woes,
 Through whom we may events disclose.
 Th' advice was pleasing to the rest,
 Who did unite in the request. 1005

Sedition said; Tho' I'm content,
 To try this Hag experiment;
 Not willing to leave aught untried,
 To bring advantage to our side;
 For which, e'en to th' infernal Regent, 1010
 I'm pleas'd to be employ'd your Agent.
 But though I pay much deference,
 To Faction's subtilty and sense;
 Yet still I differ from th' opinion,
 Respecting Destiny's dominion; 1015
 Which has but little share you'll find,
 In th' eventual measures of mankind;
 Unless by *Fate* he does design,

A Ruling Providence Divine ;
 Who, by our christian faith, does still, 1020
 Make men the agents of his will:
 As individuals then by error,
 Are still betray'd into demurror;
 Just so an empire's ruin infers,
 Misconduct in its ministers: 1025

For when nor judgment, nor desire,
 Nor spark of patriotick fire;
 The Rulers of the state excite,
 T' avoid what's wrong and do what's right;
 Abundant

Abundant matter this supplies, 1030
For national calamities.
Such state Empyricks must deceive her,
Unless Whig wisdom does relieve her.
Yet I shall chearfully engage,
In th' Sortilegious embassage. 1035
The point thus settled, each retires,
To act as rage or spleen inspires.

ARGUMENT.

THE
A R G U M E N T
OF THE
F O U R T H C A N T O.

*The Prodigies that usher'd in,
The day of that important Scene ;
Of mending Constitution breaches,
With Celebrated schemes, and Speeches :
Sedition did the Witch Consult.
The incantation, and result.*

C A N T O VI.

OH that I could the muse find out,
Who singled Homer from the rout
Of Bards ; and taught him to indite,
(1) What he could neither read or write.
Made him record what diff'rent nations,
Of Heroes said in consultations ;
When as the patriot sons of Greece,
They met, the sons of Troy to fleece.
And that I could in friendship bind her,
Or what would it avail to find her ?

5

10

I'd

I'd then each florid speech rehearse,
 Of patriot-Whigs, in deathless verse.
 But as Parnassus to ascend,
 I never tried, nor do intend;
 I have but little chance to pop 15
 On her who dwells upon the top;
 But must with Grub-street Muse make shift,
 To help me out at this dead lift.

Oh thou, then, who with smiles didst grace,
 The Bard who wrote the Chivy chace; 20
 Those deeds heroick; 'Tis all one,
 Of *Robin Hood* and *Little John*.
 If thou art not confin'd to fighting
 Assist thy Vot'ry in this writing.
 Those projects numerous, and crafty, 25
 By Whigs contrived for publick safety;
 Their zealous struggle, and exertions,
 To proselyte, and make conversions;
 But not from Pop'ry, or Dissention,
 This being no motive of convention; 30
 But from that worship, which conduces,
 To private, more than publick uses;
 That worship which is paid to places,
 And th' influence of court increases.
 If you my votive prayers regard, 35
 The Verse shall suit the theme and Bard.

Now Phœbus from the ocean rising,
 Brought on the day for enterprizing;
 When Whigs of all denominations,
 Tempers, pursuits, and inclinations; 40
 Were to unite for gormondizing,
 And factious Leaders Idolizing.

And

And as when Faction once at Rome,
 Did Cæsar to his exit doom ;
 And when the bloody resolution, 45
 Successful prov'd in th' execution ;
 The Sun, disgusted at the sight,
 Withdrew from thence its genial light ;
 And mourning for the deed, a year,
 In fable hung the hemisphere. 50
 So now the sun his fullen ray,
 Withdrew portentous to the day ;
 Whilst birds of evil omen fly,
 As harbingers of Destiny.
 First from St. A—s street doth rise, 55
 A bird of monstrous shape and size ;
 (2) Now resting on the wing is seen,
 Then circumvoling thrice the Green ;
 Upon the Senate house doth rest,
 And there a Buzzard sits confest. 60
 —A Bird of foul, and filthy brood,
 That lives on carrion as its food ;
 Directed there, as some suppose,
 By help of its instinctive nose ;
 For there, as patriot virtue tells, 65
 The foulest of corruption dwells.

Next him from C—n C—t broke loose,
 Another like a Soland Goose ;
 Which rising o'er the houses height,
 To Fownse's street directs its flight ; 70
 There rested on the house of R——n,
 And stood as sentinel to fly on ;
 Such visitors as dare pervade,
 Unless in uniform array'd ;

This

'This being the chief characteristic, 75
 Of modern Whig, or patriot Mystic.
 (4) Another bird, by all unmatched,
 O' the featherd tribe, as not being hatch'd;
 But rising, as report proclaims,
 From his ancestors spicy flames. 80
 Plum'd as a magpy he appear'd,
 On weak, yet restless pinions, rear'd;
 As feather'd Mercury he came forth,
 From Aviary in the North;
 And for his filchings, and mockings, 85
 (5) Should be distinguish'd by *Red Stockings*.
 He flew, not knowing where to rest,
 With ragged plumage on his breast;
 His notes a bird of speech bespeak,
 His talons sharp, unhook'd his beak; 90
 And whilst upon the wing, his throat
 Sent forth scurrility by rote;
 This Magpy, *Whore* and *Rogue* did roar,
 His Dictionary knew no more.
 From other streets in flocks arose, 95
 Pert Jays, and Ravens, Rooks, and Crows;
 Fann'd by envenom'd quils, the skey
 Of printers ink, receives the dye.
 And now the members all collected,
 And room being carefully inspected; 100
 Left any of the Castle Crew,
 Should in some corner lie perdue.
 Perceiving all the room was clear,
 Of pimping eye, or itching ear;
I move, says Faction, that the door, 105
Be instant shut and made secure.
 This

(6) This scarce was mov'd when instantly,
 Arose a loud a gen'ral cry ;
 From Whisky drinkers, up to Stum,
 By which e'en clamour was struck dumb ; 110
 And fierce confusion quite confounded,
 Whilst *Shut the door* on all sides founded.

From one department there arose,
 A hollow Bass from Snuff-full nose ;
 And from another place was heard, 115
 Shrill sounds which spoke defect of beard ;
 Sent forth by squeaking Macaronies,
 Or unfledg'd whiggish simple tonies ;
 Wh' except in name know not the Whig,
 From Tory more than any pig. 120

Whilst loud stentorian tenors come,
 From other corners of the room ;
 Sent forth by grey-beard dupes, and novices,
 Who Whigs from Torys know by offices.
 A dissonance so harsh and shocking, 125
 'Twould be in beetling mill provoking.

So Cats, when they're impell'd by Venus,
 With songs intriguing entertain us ;
 The Keys dissonant sharp and shrill,
 The neighbouring dormitories fill ; 130
 Wake all th' inhabitants from sleep,
 And make them painful vigils keep.
 Or as the gudgeons of a Car,
 When destitute of grease and tar ;
 Do persecute the listning ear, 135
 Of such as happen to be near ;
 Just so, these vile and Jarring tones,
 Of Trebles, Sharps, and humming Drones ;

Did

Did put the ear more on the rack,
 Than Screams of hogs thrown on the back. 140
 But this brought on a proper season,
 For Whigs not overstock'd with reason ;
 Their patriotick rage t' exert,
 And shew their talents malapert ;
 Screen ignorance by discontent, 145
 And what they can't descry invent.
 Hence *Mugidus* runs up and down,
 Through ev'ry district in the town ;
 Proclaims the kingdom's ruin near,
 Because *Legantor's* made a peer ; 150
 And vows he used the Whig-Club quite ill,
 T' accept, without their leave, a Title ;
 And, as report proclaims, to barter,
 Two Boroughs for the noble charter ;
 Renouncing thus his Whiggish glory, 155
 For the subservience of a tory,
 To him the next in Vociff'ration,
 On the calamities O' the nation ;
 Steps forth *Baburus*,—Patriot Hero !
 Who makes of *Antonine*—A *Nero*. 160
 Whose Fort is to outrival those,
 Who nonsense verses turn to prose ;
 As school-boys do to save their breeches,
 And thus he decorates his speeches ;
 Hopes by such eloquence to shine, 165
 As proves a special anodine :
 For when in City aggregation,
 He meditates a bold oration ;
 Soon as he opes his mouth intent,
 To give his patriot fury vent ; 170
 And

And raise suspicions 'mongst the rabble,
 By common place, and senseless babble ;
 To keep them still upon their guard,
 In this he finds himself debarr'd ;
 Making the Auditors O' the house, 175
 Torpid, and Soporiferous.

The door being shut ; One now proposes,
 Preliminary counting noses ;
 But this met violent objection,
 As tending to betray defection, 180
 And therefore 't was resolv'd, *Nem con*,
 That business should be enter'd on ;
 Without a previous inquisition,
 Into their numbers or commission.

Now *Flaber* first in Cavil started, 185
 A scheme republican imparted ;
 Propos'd a Bill to clip the wings,
 Call'd the *Prerogative*, of Kings ;
 And from the Sov'reign to withdraw,
 The executive branch o' the law ; 190
 To rid him of the power and trouble,
 Or to remun'rate, or ennoble.

Thus to degrade him to a pageant,
 A Puppet, or Republick Agent ;
 Conducted by politick wires, 195
 Just as the common Wealth requires :
 And thus to form a Constitution,
 By th' present Gallick revolution,

To this some members clapt a bar,
 Unwilling to proceed so far. 200
 They could not readily dispense,
 With loss of their pre-eminence.

They

They would bring down the King, with all
 Their hearts, t' a level with the Gaul;
 But to confound the Peer, and Peasant, 205
 Was mortifying and unpleasant.

Men with a stoicism severe,
 The fall of others see and hear;
 But when this proves their own concern,
 Then they've philosophy to learn. 210

Hence the Reformers of the nation,
 Find in themselves no Reformation;
 But in their clubs those acts allow,
 Which in the Court they disavow.

So in a gen'ral conflagration, 215
 Incendiaries find recreation;
 Because a neighbour's house in flames,
 Forwards their wishes and their schemes:
 For rogues still fatten on the spoil,
 Of honest industry and toil. 220

Now party rage began to fret,
 And th' cause betray'd for which they met;
 Whist each profane, and holy brother,
 Determin'd to excell another;

Devising schemes, and finding faults, 225
 To show his wit and fertile thoughts;
 Whilst civil rancour and dissention,
 With sanctimonious contention;

And a profound dissimulation,
 Was deem'd religious obligation; 230
 Consistent with the sacred notion,
 And exercise of true devotion;

Whilst fly enthusiastick shifts,
 Were marks of Grace, and holy Gifts,

When

When Sec'lar int'rests intervene, 235
 Then patriotism's but a screen ;
 And when religious interfere,
 Our politicks are pointed there.
 Then small advantage can b' expected,
 T' the state, from members thus infected. 240
 When independents, and Seceders,
 Dissenters call'd, but diff'rent Creeders ;
 Who had they not the Church t' attack,
 (7) Would put each other on the rack ;
 And adversaries prove as keen, 245
 As Spaniard is to Saracene ;
 Or, t' give the simile more scope,
 As Synod man is to the Pope.
 These from Conventicle dispatch'd,
 To forward plans in Synod hatch'd ; 250
 And from being preachers militants,
 Turn'd politick Itinerants,
 The harbingers of spleen and spite,
 Both of the Old, and the New Light.
 Keen to get rid of the Commission, 255
 Which he receiv'd at his dismissal ;
 With patriot zeal, and holy blended,
 And both with Church and State offended ;
 Now to exhibit each began,
 His fav'rite Reformation plan, 260
 —A Fetus similar t' a mule,
 Partaking both of knave and fool ;
 Of *Faction* rather, join'd by *Schism*,
 Begot by *Spleen* or *Fanatism* ;
 Brought forth, as Pallas from the brain 265
 Of Jupiter, without much pain ;

And

And which has stigmatiz'd their fufs,
With th' adage of *Minervam Sus*.

(8) Some were determin'd to retrieve,
The ancient Representative; 270

To be elected for a year,
For ev'ry corp'rate town and Shire;
Whose senatorial power should cease,
If he accepted of a place;
Who like a Jury man appear'd, 275

And was immediately cashired;
Soon as the business had been done,
Which he had been convok'd upon.

Others would run the Constitution,
No further back than th' Revolution; 280

That th' representatives o' the nation,
Should have but three years delegation:
For what can give a Whig more trouble,
Than a duration more than double;

As't leaves no room t' unfold their merits, 285
But blasts their hopes, and crows their spirits;

And th' int'rest of the nation leaves,
Seven years with mercenary slaves;
Without a chance of place or pension,
For worthy Whigs of the convention; 290

Preventing men of fortunes small,
From getting into th' house at all;
And bettering their circumstances,
By comfortable court finances.

Which partial police, if there was, 295
No more objectionary cause;

Should prompt our efforts to restrain,
This vile monopoly of gain;

And

And give the plund'ers of the nation,
A chance by annual rotation.

300

Now from his seat *Intertius* started,
And thus his sentiments imparted.
I rise not breth'ren with intent,
To give a wrangling humour vent ;
Or with an eloquence uncouth,
To stop another members mouth.

305

But as I can perceive a dawning,
Of stretching listlessness and yawning ;
I mean, if possible, to keep
The club from sinking into sleep.

310

Which arguments so stale and trite,
As *Rotten Boroughs* tend t' excite.

For whether parliaments should be,
Protracted to Seven years, or Three ;

Or though elected once a year,
It must be evident and clear ;

315

By whom foe'er we're represented,
Corruption cannot be prevented ;
Whilst speculation does invest,
And selfish views, the human breast.

320

In British history we're told,
That Representatives of old ;
So slightly publick good regarded,
They would not serve unless rewarded.

Yet we extoll those ancient Dons,
As patriotick paragons.

325

Their poverty we have agreed,
In bar of Avarice to plead ;
And what as base we now condemn,
We call a venial act in them :

330

H

And

And yet their views, with ours contrasted,
 Were downright pensions whilst they lasted.
 I neither hope then, nor intend,
 To selfish views to put an end ;
 But would retaliation try, 335
A Tooth for Tooth, and Eye for Eye.
 I wish to oppose this peculat'ry,
 Manœuvre of assault, and battery ;
 Upon our rights and privileges :
 And as each party's view, is wages, 540
 Then let a tax that will produce,
 A Million for our private use ;
 Be laid, by publick legislation,
 (9) On all the drunkards in the nation.
 But in this act 'tis my design, 345
 That Whigs shall be exempt from Fine ;
 And be permitted to get fuddled,
 When in the cause of Faction, huddled ;
 Because I think 'twould be a pitty,
 Our Club to hinder from being witty ; 350
 And to deprive them by their toasting,
 Of patriotick squibs and boasting.
 By laying but a shilling fine,
 On those who do get drunk with wine ;
 Whilst those may pay but half that sum, 355
 Who 're drunk with Whisky Beer, or Rum.
 And to enforce this penalty,
 Let those who can't, or wont comply ;
 Be by a Justice warrant stript,
 And on his naked shoulders whipt. 360
 And if this statute's put in force,
 Then there will need no other course ;
 T' effect

T' effect what parliament is trying,
 A sottish rabble's self denying;
 Whilst ev'ry Commoner, and Lord, 365
 And other men who can afford;
 May ev'ry kind of liquor fwill,
 Get drunk with what, and when, they will;
 (No matter how such conduct ends
 Or to their persons, or their friends) 370
 Provided to the publick, they
 To save their backs, are forced to pay.

This will a million raise at least,
 By keeping man from being a beast;
 Which shared in proper dividends, 375
 Amongst our brethern and our friends;
 In th' upper House, or Lower either,
 Or those who've got a feat in neither;
 Whose firm adherence to our party,
 Was never stedfast yet or hearty; 380
 Unless they'd hopes of being provided
 For, by those with whom they sided.

This measure will in spite of Satan,
 Convert each lukewarm friend t' a G—n.
 And if each patriot's part, or share, 385
 With G—n's doth proportion bear;
 Not the resources of the Court,
 Can such a servile tribe support;
 Nor will their places and their pensions,
 To our designs prove circumventions; 390
 But this sure consequence will follow,
 We'll beat them in their own way, *Hollow.*
 Without this plan we may convene,
 And dine, and toast, resolve, complain;

'Twill only have the effect to raise, 395
 A publick mock'ry, 'stead of praise ;
 Whilst snarling thus our teeth exposes,
 Like curs with bridles on their noses.

He said, then sent his eyes about,
 To search for admiration out ; 400
 But finding none sat down again,
 With rancour bloated and disdain.

And now another patriot Whig,
Aucus by name, with project big ;
 Impregnated like Dardan's mare, 405
 By Boreas, or the subtle air ;
 Which long lay brooding, and confin'd,
 Reluctant in his teeming mind ;
 Three years, like Elephantine Fetus,
 As th' skill'd in Zoography relate t' us : 410
 For things require in coming forth,
 A time proportion'd to their worth,
 And now the bantling of his brain,
 Nurtur'd with so much care and pain ;
 To issue into light he tries, 415
 Whilst front defect of sense supplies.

My plan for a Reform, O Peers,
 Has been the study of some years ;
 And after this I need not tell,
 The scheme has been digested well, 420
 The *rotten Boroughs* this club knows,
 Are the grand cause of all our woes ;
 Too galling for mankind t' endure,
 Who have in their own power a cure ;
 This we have got, as I shall shew, 425
 If you have patience to bestow.

Let

Let ev'ry man by whom is held,
 A Rotten Borough be compell'd;
 To set mechanick trades to work,
 There build a town as big as Cork. 430

Let him in penal sum be bound,
 T' expend five hundred thousand pound;
 There to encourage population,
 And put a stop to emigration;
 Nor must he cease till they're encreased, 435
 Two thousand Suffrages at least.

And now instead of *Voce Viva*,
 With study great I did contrive a
 Method, for ev'ry man to Vote,
 As he shall please, and no one know't. 440

Let the electors, one and all,
 Be placed in some commodious hall;
 The doors and windows made so tight,
 As scarce t' admit a gleam of light.

Give ev'ry man two sugar plumbs, 445
 As big at least as both his thumbs;
 If Candidates there should be more,
 For each a plumb; one, two, three, four;
 And let those plumbs be form'd in shape,
 Of *Dog, and Hog, and Goose, and Ape.* 450

Let Candidates cast lots to see,
 By which they'd represented be.
 This point being fix'd let ev'ry soul,
 His fav'rite pass through a small hole;
 Left in the door; then if he eats, 455

In private the remaining Cates;
 If afterwards his vote is known,
 He'll have to blame himself alone.

And

And now all influence to prevent,
 I'll have an act of parliament ; 460
 That if the Candidates should dare
 Use bribes, or wheedling any where ;
 Or if on hustings they harangued,
 They without Clergy shall be hang'd ;
 This act however not to extend, 465
 To any club of Whig, or friend :
 And Roman Cath'licks too are meant,
 To have a vote, with this restraint ;
 That it shall always be confin'd,
 To men who are with us combin'd. 470
 Such is my plan, and if y' approve it,
 'Twill be my glory now to move it,
Legantius now from bench arose,
 And said ; I know not if t' oppose
 This motion, or in silence sit, 475
 Would show the larger share of wit ;
 It is in ev'ry branch so futile,
 Impracticable, and inutile ;
 That him it only serves to shew,
 To opposition firm and true. 480
 I love my country, and with zeal,
 On her would liberty entail ;
 And ev'ry blessing to impart,
 Will freely join both hand and heart.
 But no persuasion shall engage, 485
 Or bind me down to party rage.
 For whilst the test, and true index,
 Of the Whig-Club is to perplex ;
 And treat the Court with disrespect,
 I never shall be 'mongst th, Elect. 490
 For

For as th' Athenian Epicurus,
 Sophistically doth assure us ;
 A Providential Being Supreme,
 But an enthusiastick dream ;
 Just so we patriotism arraign, 495
 As a Chimæra of the Brain ;
 And place its genuine spirit in
 Outrage, and Virulent Chagrine ;
 Whilst each invective argument,
 that poignant malice can invent ; 500
 Or foil'd ambition can devise,
 Assisted by the prince of lies ;
 And of incendiary fictions,
 To load the court with maledictions ;
 Past peccadillos aggravating, 505
 And fresh and greater still creating ;
 Annexing right to devastation,
 And spreading tumult through the nation :
 And thus our private vengeance glutting,
 Whilst we are insolently strutting, 510
 Or proudly basking in the blaze,
 And transient beams of pop'lar praise ;
 Which never steady doth remain,
 But always shifting like a Vane ;
 Which as it turns upon its base, 515
 Now points to honour, then disgrace.

I own t' endeavour to restrain,
 Court influence must be in vain.
 It is to renovate the Creature,
 And pluck th' essentials out of nature, 520
 For when prevailing luxuries,
 Are importuning for supplies ;

The

The influential power that grants,
 The means to gratify those wants ;
 Will never want a cringing Bevy, 525
 Of suppliants to attend his levy.

All Governments are kept in tone,
 By private interest alone.
 For who're the persons, say, and where,
 Who quite such patriot bigots are ; 530
 As in each opposition feud,

Have naught in view but publick good ?
 Then ministers to influence those,
 Must unavoidably expose ;
 Themselves to a licentious pique, 535

By actions that create dislike :
 Nor could the stanchest Whig, in place,
 Serve government with efficacy ;
 From facious slander clear, and frown,
 Though now encircled with renown. 540

For not this government but all,
 Oppos'd by faction, and cabal ;
 Detach the leaders of those measures,
 From private friends, by publick treasures ;
 Or calling them to publick places, 545

(10) Which the sure road to foul disgrace is :
 And such the means t' effect their ends,
 As far as faction's power extends ;
 Who brib'ry and corruption use,
 In both dispos'd to be profuse ; 550
 And deem'd those acts their noblest feats,
 That plunge the ministry in straits.

And thus we see each party tries,
 To swerve from th' other its allies ;

Which

Which makes the struggle prove at best, 555
 Nor more nor less than a contest,
 'Twixt craft and power to disarm,
 The one from doing the other harm.

'Twill be more hard, and costly too,
 To bribe a number than a few ; 560
 And as in government Vocation,
 Man sinks all patriot sensation ;
 And pliantly his shoulders bends,
 To forward Ministerial ends ;

Then members of the Commons House, 565
 Cannot well be too numerous.

If rotten Boroughs then are lopt ;
 And we no fresh resource adopt
 'Twill not remove, but concentrate,
 The venal spirit of the state. 570

'Twill within closer bounds reduce,
 What Whigs call national abuse.
 Suppressing all Representation,
 Let ev'ry freeman in the nation,
 Go serve the state in Parliament, 575
 As we are told at first they went ;

For such a Senate was agreed,
 And fix'd upon at *Runimede*.
 This will prevent our ruling tribes,
 From carrying on their schemes by bribes ; 580
 Then not a symptom will remain,
 Of this political gangrene.

'Twill save your butchers and your bakers,
 And such like constitution makers ;
 From their simplicity exposing, 585
 By thrusting a mundungus nose in

State

State business ; by th' advice they give,
To sway their Representative.

But this on which we ring the changes,
This *Brib'ry*, neither new, nor strange is ; 590
For let it if it can be shewn,
Where speculation is unknown ;
Where ministers disinterested,
Will have their peace of mind molested ;
From th' disoblig'd receive no mercy, 595
Butt stand the brunt of controversy ;
And be the But of wits and dolts,
To aim at with their factious bolts ;
Then be content with Asses gains,
Sheer flagellation for their pains. 600

Since men in regal confidence,
To honesty may lay pretence ;
Equal to those who huff and ding,
Because discarded by the King ;
In cases where there own undoing, 605
Must be th' result of publick ruin ;
Therefore let any man here bench'd,
Point out where freedom is retrench'd ;
And shew the law or made or broke,
Which lays upon our necks a yoke, 610
Beneath which pressure we must groan,
And yet to Britons quite unknown.

In this e'en Faction must agree,
We are as British subjects free.
And if this plann'd reform was got ; 615
Though freer it could make us not :
If it made freedom more secure,
To obtain it would my vote allure ;

Provided

Provided there the matter ended,
And nothing further was intended. 620

But then we're threaten'd that in case
This sought Reform, should once take place;
And th' House be with Dissenters crowded,
Th' establish'd church shall be exploded.

When this was threaten'd, and by whom, 625
Is known to sev'ral in this room ;

And I have persons now in eye,
Who can't those menaces deny
Then each church-member should look t' it
And drop th' insidious pursuit ; 630

Should be content as matters stand,
Nor lend the church a murth'ring hand.

He said, then look'd about and found,
That his disgusted brethren frown'd ;
But strongly lined in Faction's face, 635
Could rage and indignation trace.

Those who from emptiness of noddle,
Could neither well advise, nor plod ill ;
But with stupidity too great,
On publick measures to debate ; 640

Nor could discover what they think,
(If think atall) except by wink ;
Nor yet two sentences combine
Coherent, but on dice or wine,
Of course not able to revile, 645

The court in Garratanian stile ;
Yet scorning to appear as mopes,
Devoid of patriot fears and hopes ;
But like the planet of the night,
Depending on a borrow'd light ; 650

Exhibit

Exhibit each his glaring fault,
In government, as he was taught.

Brundus, whilst shoe-boy black'd his brogues,
Observ'd he call'd the Police rogues ;
And said tho' safety the pretence, 655
'Twas form'd t' encrease court influence ;

That setting thief, to catch a thief,
Gave to th' publick no relief.

This was enough for Whig trusty,
The hint was worth the shoe-blacks fee ; 660
And tho' he knew not how t' improve it,
'Twould do him honour now to move it.

I think said he it is but fit,
We try t' exonerate the Cit ;
From police taxes so enormous, 665
Which ministerial tools inform us ;
Are for the publick safety meant,
Though influence the plain intent.

I therefore move that our Whig Clubs,
Should reprobate these police scrubs ; 570
Convince the world that there no more is
Occasion for such *Rapps and Tories* ;
Who're paid according to their places,
For thieving, drinking, lewd follaces ;
'Tis making Tories Tory-hunters ; 675
And setting Bauds to hunt down Bunters.

Motensis, rose t' oppugn the Bill,
Design'd to tax the whisky still.
Declar'd that whisky, he was sure,
In all distempers work'd a cure ; 680
That he preferr'd a pint to fops
A gallon, of medicinal shops ;

And

And found it still the best remedy,
 To make the hands in th' morning steady
 A sure panacea which serves, 685
 To brace relax'd and trem'lous nerves ;
 And when the nerves are tightly strung,
 It makes the old conceit they're young ;
 And justly too ; for sops confess,
Youth is but nat'ral drunkenness. 690
 When in anxiety and grief,
 It brings the patient quick relief ;
 And also on the man that's poor,
 It works a temporary cure.
 Then that such good effects, should be 695
 Confin'd to wealth, and high degree ;
 And the plebian be debarr'd
 From them, I think extremely hard ;
 It on Whig principles encroaches,
 And loads the schemers with reproaches. 700
 Then let us brethren not b' upbraided,
 As seeing Liberty invaded,
 Without resolving it to be,
 The essence of true Liberty,
 That ev'ry man, as he thinks proper, 705
 Should be a *jolly whisky Toper.*
 Now *Cucubus* arose and said,
 He wish'd to realize *Free Trade* ;
 Propos'd that we should cross the waters,
 To Nootka sound for skins of Otters ; 710
 Or if per chance this traffick fails,
 When in the sound to fish for whales.
Babiger said he did design a
 Company to trade to China ;

(11) And not be bound to take our tea, 715
 From the East India Company;
 Which to our Merchants is degrading,
 And quite repugnant to free-trading.
 But *Grincio* said, he was in doubt,
 If they could bring th' affair about; 720
 And should insist upon this right,
 They'd suffer more, than profit by't.
 For if this mercantile intrusion,
 Should be attended with th' exclusion
 Of all Hibernians, Whig and Tory, 725
 From Asiatic wealth and glory;
 I wish to know, says he, in case
 Our countrymen met this disgrace;
 If this our Independence wou'd,
 Find the discarded clothes and food? 730
 If not, we must be in the wrong,
 To sell advantage for a song;
 Such oceanous extent to cross,
 For doubtful gain, at certain loss;
 Like *Æsop's* dog, dup'd by conceit, 735
 Who for the shadow lost the meat:
 Nor would the profits of this Jobb,
 For centuries make one Nabob;
 Of whom we have a portion got
 As well as Britain, or the Scot. 740
Glaris an enterprising man,
 Would rival Holland at Japan;
 Although by carrying on that trade,
 We must t' our faith prove renegade;
 As 'tis reported that the Dutch, 745
 Pretend or really are such;
 For

For we, as well as sage Minheer,
 For less advantage do so here :
 For what is cheating, swearing, lying,
 But modes of christian faith denying? 750
 And what are perj'ries at Elections,
 If they're not similar defections?
 What all our patriot pretences,
 But private wounds to consciences?
 Since whatso'er we say or do, 755
 We keep emolument in view.
 What are petitions of Dissenters,
 But the sly aims of circumventers ;
 To sap the church from its foundations,
 By introducing Commutations? 760
 When it is plain the greater part,
 Have something further still at heart ;
 Suppose that they've a title to
 Those tithes, and claim them as their due ;
 And what is this if not denying 765
 The faith, b' hypocrisy and lying?
 Or taking freedom to connive at
 The truth, to forward what they drive at?
 What are endeavours to suppress,
 The mode of worship men profess ; 770
 With its emoluments curtailing,
 But in our Christian duties failing?
 For let man's faith be wrong or right,
 Not to defend, is to deny't ;
 For by the Scriptures, he that's neuter, 775
 Is stigmatiz'd as persecutor.
 Conscience 'tis clear can't long maintain
 Its ground, when combated by gain ;

But

But in the contest still miscarries,
Against mammonian adversaries. 780

Adoxus motion'd for arraigning
The Judges, for a statute straining;
And thus our Liberties designing,
To overthrow by bail and fining.
Affirm'd that ev'ry man on earth, 785
To Freedom had a right by birth;
And that no Judge upon the bench,
Had power this freedom to retrench.

To this *Alaster* said He shou'd,
Be glad to know what's understood, 790
To be the *liberty of nature*,
Entail'd by birth on th' human creature?
If uncontroul'd to range the wood,
Like Savages for clothes and food;
Or if t' enjoy the air and light, 795
Like brutes was meant; his friend was right.

But when there are affociations,
Of rationals in diff'rent nations;
Who each have their peculiar law,
To keep refract'ry knaves in awe; 800
He who, without reserve, alledges,
That man is born to privileges;

(12) Not in the laws of's nation grounded,
Must build on principles unfounded;
Since every government retains, 805
Its legal penalties and pains;
And certain franchises bestows,

On 'ts natives, which no other knows;
The man of course, who's born in Spain,
For British freedom looks in vain; 810
Of

Of consequence the proposition,
 Is vague without a definition.
 To say a man 's not free, because,
 He's circumscrib'd by national laws ;
 Is to affirm that he's disgrac'd, 815
 For want o' the freedom of a Beast.

Agenor in design cashires,
 All Bishops from the House of Peers ;
 Means from their titles to erase,
Right Reverend, My Lord, His Grace ; 820
 And 'stead of Bishops to confer,
 The pristine title *Presbyter* ;
 He'd seize their temporalities,
 And parishes convert to Sees ;
 With Elder, Clerk, and Spir'tual Leader, 825
 Of Independent or Seceder.

Propos'd that we from henceforth have a,
 Church creed, and worship, like Geneva ;
 To abrogate church pray'rs, and Masses,
 And to adopt what these surpasses ; 830
 Extemporary pray'rs, o' the head,
 As by the holy spirit led ;
 No other mode being known t' accost else,
 The Deity by the apostles ;
 And if by inspiration they, 835
 Were aided both to preach and pray ;
 Why may not men, though at this distance,
 Lay claim to both by th' same assistance ?

Because the gift o' the holy Ghost,
 To speak all languages is lost ; 840
Fidus replies ; and want of sense,
 Prove inspiration all pretence.

Be this *Agenor* says, as't will,
 It has the efficacy still ;
 To make men with those modes comply, 845
 When they've no better reason why.
 And if by this, or any claim,
 Or right or wrong, that we can frame ;
 We may o' the establish'd church get rid,
 And place Dissention in its stead ; 850
 What e'er the principles, the gains
 Will always Sanctify the means.
 And now the gen'ral acclamation,
 Was a *Religious Reformation* :
 And 'twas propos'd to send out Spies, 855
 Not bound by conscientious ties ;
 Yet firm adherents to recusance,
 To find out clerick broils, and nufance ;
 On which they might impeachments frame,
 To give a Sanction to the claim, 860
 Of disannulling tithe affairs ;
 Or let Dissenters have their shares.
 In either case it will be pleasing,
 And keep them from eternal teasing ;
 And without this no Reformation, 865
 Would work a national salvation.
 For if this Israelite entail,
 Of tithes is suffer'd to prevail ;
 And th' constitution bestows,
 The tenth of all the corn that grows ; 870
 To Tory prelatick alone,
 And th' Independent Whig gets none.
 How such partiality, and scorn,
 Can be with acquiescence borne ;

Without

Without a steady perseverance, 875
 In opposition to Vicegerence ;
 And all the ante-patriot crew,
 I with some brother Whig would shew
Mallensis rose, and thus begun.
 Is not the same observ'd, and done, 880
 By ev'ry nation, without squabble ;
 Or raising feuds abominable ?
 What state without its ordinances,
 Civil and Sacred, as if fancies ;
 Deem'd the established religion, 885
 From the Pagod, to th' Turkish Widgeon ;
 And for support of which appointed,
 Some fund, as chief of God's anointed ;
 Do not the Scotch that fund confine,
 Unto the Presbyterian line ; 890
 And force all other men to pay,
 Though serving God a diff'rent way ?
 Then why should Government relax,
 Its laws to rid you of this tax ?
 Point out the sacred sign or test, 895
 T' uphold your claim above the rest,
 Of sects religious, in the nation,
 Who passive are t' the obligation ;
 And not, like you, their daggers draw,
 Against the Court, the Church, the Law ; 900
 Because for sooth they dont provide,
 For men so pure and sanctified.

Agenor said, this does appear,
 As if intended for a Sneer ;
 And not an inadvertent breach, 905
 Of ceremonious form of Speech

Should therefore Justly be dismiss,
 By th' Synod, did I not insist;
 On declaration that no flight,
 Was meant t' our sanctity and light. 910

I shant recall, *Mallensis* said,
 My words, whilst I have got a blade;
 And can upon occasion use it,
 For Government, 'gainst those who abuse it
 Too plain you shew your fix'd disdain, 915
 Of all Court measures in this reign;
 Not e'en the wisdom of the Sage,
 Can fix a limit to your rage;
 Th' attempt is vain as 'tis to bind
 The waves, or whistle calm the wind. 920

Not even Locks persuasive sense,
 Nor Tully's pow'rful eloquence,
 Nor Angel in Seraphick Song,
 Can set those right who will be wrong.
 The patriotic Cavileer, 925
 Treats all precaution with a sneer;
 As if where patriotism began,
 Thence fled the frailtys of man;
 And fix'd opponent inclination,
 To Demagogal education, 930
 And spite of all the rubs you meet,
 Subject yourselves to fresh defeat;
 As Mules are known to kick behind.
 So long as they resistance find;
 Nor will, though 'gainst the pricks give o'er, 935
 Though wounded by each kick and fore.

Was publick good still kept in view,
 By ev'ry measure you pursue;

Or

Or did your opposition spring,
 From friendship to the state and King; 940
 Or was this stir and bustle made,
 T' unfetter and encrease our trade,
 As if Mechanics were restrain'd,
 From what by industry they gain'd;
 Were these or such as these the cause, 945
 Your enmity might claim applause.
 But when 'tis known Sedition's school,
 Is fill'd by such as wish to rule;
 And prone to fish in turbid streams,
 Still meditate abortive schemes; 950
 And only wait for a Court bribe,
 To change their policy and Tribe;
 Of publick zeal such trite pretence,
 Has lost its vulgar influence.

Could I suppose there was occasion, 955
 To give to this an illustration;
 I'd bring examples Old and New,
 To prove what I assert is true;
 That patriots like Swifts will fight,
 Regardless or of wrong or right; 960
 Attentive to their interest,
 Incline to those who pay them best.

Hence without reasoning or confuting,
 Their party daily wants recruiting;
 And whilst the wise-man still withdraws, 965
 Himself from their declining cause;
 They fill the place of wisdom's Sons,
 By rash and cred'lous Simpletons,
 By toping patriots who grow able,
 From toasts that circulate the table; 970
 Without

Without the aid of thought, to fix
The standard of their politicks.

Hence neighbour as his neighbour rails,
And all pursue each others tails ;
As geese, howe'er the path meanders, 975
Do still pursue their leading Ganders.

And hence the servile reprobation,
Of the Commercial regulation.

For Garrattan's superior parts,
Illume men of mechanick arts ; 980

And both a Crispin and a Stitch,
Doth so with politicks enrich ;

That this can British treach'ry view,
As easily as patch a shoe,

Whilst that Hibernia's int'rest knows, 985
As well as how to mend old Clothes

And both as competent explainers,
Which must be losers and which gainers ;

Which would be wise men, and which fools,
Adopting such commercial rules. 990

As these, such topicks still will drop
In Beer-house, or in Whisky-Shop ;

Which with the murmurs and the hints,
Appearing in the publick prints ;

Can form a politician Wight, 995
Of him who can not read nor write.

Teach handicrafts with blust'ring airs,
To quit their trades for state affairs ;

Train them by party toasts and Songs,
To feel imaginary wrongs. 1000

Thus ends the reas'ning, and begins,
Of all your patriot underlings ;

Who

Who still for rights retrench'd are bawling,
In terms adapted to their Calling.

Though oft they have been gratified, 1005
It matters not if once denied.

Confin'd to flax the Spinster feels
An injury, and quits her wheels.

The Weaver idle sits and fullen, 1010
Unless his loom's employ'd in Woolen.

Nor will the pedlar think his stall,
Complete without an Indian Shawl.

Thus he who waves his Sov'reign's shirt,
Conceives himself extremely hurt ;

And will to wave that shirt refuse 1015
Unless he makes his coat and shoes.

So sturdy Beggars change their tone,
And part denied, they will have none ;

But dropping the imploring mask,
Curse if you give not all they ask. 1020

Thus you will seldom find discretion,
To temper patriot profession.

To lesser patriots still the greater,
Becomes a perfect Legislator ;

And nothing can be too absurd, 1025
To pass as current on his word.

A patriot of this stamp whose head,
Uninfluenc'd by shame or dread ;

But stockt with Machivelian brains,
And presidents of former reigns ; 1030

Who knows instructions how to draw,
And how to turn and twist the Law ;

Who knows what grievance wants redress,
And what he does not know can guess.

The

The griefs of merchant, Weaver, Draper, 1035
Knows how to represent on paper.

Who in detail of griefs ne'er mist,

The proud episcopalian priest ;

But doth the Levite tribe impeach,

Both those who do, and do not preach ; 1040

Charge all with avarice because

They take but half their right by th' laws ;

Who Courtiers drags from Court-affylum,

For mobs to mal-treat and revile 'em.

Can make a rogue by inuendo, 1045

And leave no room Se defendendo ;

And when arraign'd at the mob's Bar,

Make him a traitor too who dare ;

Insinuate his innocence,

Or speak one word in his defence. 1050

So when a Mad-Dog-cry alarms,

The Villagers pursue in Swarms ;

'Tis vain to contradict the Cry,

The Mob-doom'd animal must die.

Thus Vig'rous opposition shews, 1055

Who are the publick friends or foes ;

Thus tho' releas'd from foreign trammels,

You strain at Gnats and swallow Camels.

And such who causelessly complain

Of griefs in this indulgent reign ; 1060

I will pronounce a factious Brood,

And by my Sword I'll make it good.

Now seeing the members grow so warm,

And t' obviate all further harm ;

The president conceiv'd it not ill, 1065

T' adjourn contention to the Bottle ;

In

In hopes that this, and th' festive plate,
Would sooth the frenzy of debate.

The previous question now being mov'd,
By one, and by the whole approv'd; 1070
Should more reforming plans be read,
Or hear what further could be said;
Or should the club without delay,
Adjourn debate t' a further day;
The word *adjourn* reiterated, 1075
Stopt further schemes from being debated.

And thus the Whiggish Junction ended,
On which such mighty hopes depended;
And all its toasts, resolves, and vows,
Like th' mountain lab'ring with a Mouse; 1080
Or like Rotunda brought to bed,
And Fetus but a small pin's head,

As once a Roman Emperor,
Resolv'd on an invasive war;
Had raised a formidable host. 1085
And landed on the British coast;
And when the Legions were paraded,
Along the shoar, fatigued and jaded;
Returns, rewarded for these bustles,
With spoils of cockleshells and muscles. 1090
Just so our Patriot Whigs were mustered,
Had promis'd much, found fault, and bluster'd;
When they did sumptuously dine,
And plentifully swill'd their wine;
'Gainst publick measures exclaim'd loudly, 1095
And their own virtues boasted proudly;
These constitution centinels,
Disbanded with their *cockle-shells*.

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Faction

Faction chagrin'd by this conclusion,
Thus spoke t' himself in wild confusion. 1100

Well faction here's a paltry ending,
At length to constitution mending;
And your resolves 'gainst Church and Crown,
Are nugatory, and run down.

Each vote republican, and toast; 1105

Your equal honour, wit, and boast;
Now serve no other end, alas

But circulating of the glass;

And all your opposition shams,

Are stigmatiz'd as knavish Flams, 1110

Proscrib'd by Court, and overturn'd

Whilst *Sine Die* we're adjourn'd,

Is it for this we form'd a Junction,

Which now we rue with sharp compunction;

Compos'd of country-Squires, and Grandees, 1115

Though deeply mortgag'd half our land is;

Yet each subscrib'd his pound, and shilling,

Less able far, than he was willing;

But yet for envy would be risquy;

So charm'd alas! his wine to whisky. 1120

All this t' exclude a Candidate,

Whose crime is that of being too great;

And growing too pop'lar in the County,

By generosity and bounty;

Thus Substituting for Whig-ism, 1125

The jealousies of *Ostracism*;

And him converting, who the pride is

Of's Country, to an *Aristides*.

Was it for this we open'd houses,

And paid so dearly for carouses; 1130
Of

Of which these sad effects are known,
That some are forc'd to shut their own?

Have we to perjury contributed,
For which some say we should be gibbeted
Since nought so impious, and base is, 1135

As bart'ring consciences for leases;
Or after doing this, so shameful,
T' impeach the Government as blameful,
For doing what, this very act is
A proof, to be our constant practice? 1140

Shall all our scandal go for nought,
And flurs to this conclusion brought ;
Whilst passively we sit and bear it,
As if devoid of patriot spirit?

In vain shall men for firmness look, 1145
In Whigs, if such rebuffs we brook ;

'Twill shew our virtues but alloy,
The wav'ring caprice of a boy ;
The timid conduct of a coward,
In measures desp'rate, and untoward. 1150

But yet 'tis hop'd there's still whig spirit,
Enough th' intrigues of court to ferret ;
Nor quit like renegades our station,
Or turn our backs on th' Reformation ;
And basely flinch from cause, and bottles, 1155
As if to save from rope our throttles :

But sure 'twere better these were strangled,
Who thus 'twixt Whig and Tory dangled.

And yet alas on retrospection,
Of Whig revolt and disaffection ; 1160

How prompt when int'rest doth invite,
Some members were to disunite ;

When

When patriotick fervour ceas'd,
 Just as the frowns of court decreas'd ;
 And all engagements to reform 1165
 (Like those of devotees in storm,)
 Renounc'd, and basely did decline,
 As Court-wind chang'd, and grew benign :
 Which evidently did display,
 Their principles but of the day ; 1170
 And had from court their energy,
 As from the sun the butterfly.

'Tis true some brethren did despise,
 'Mongst others, that wild enterprize,
 Distinguishable by th' excess 1175
 Of Jibes, Sarcastick from the press ;
 By which we're told that Regent scheme,
 Was pertinacious in th' extreme ;
 That something worse gave operation
 To it, than indiscrimination ; 1180
 That what diminish'd the resistance
 T' a vote, so mark'd with inconsistency ;
 Was a design to manifest,
 The Independence we possess ;
 And that if this false compliment, 1185
 Had prov'd successful in th' event ;
 No benefit could be accruing,
 Whilst Independence went to ruin.

We're told, besides, it shew'd disgust,
 Against the Court, thus to intrust ; 1190
 A power to the Regency,
 Which to the Crown we now deny.
 This blunder's charg'd t' a politician,
 And pensioner of Opposition ;

An

An emblematick Salamander, 1195
 Who lives by th' fire of broils and slander ;
 Whose tongue, we're told, is barb'd and tipt,
 In aconital venom dipt ;

And whose acrimonious throat is,
 Pestiferous as th' lake *Mæotis*; 1200

Whose pestilential exhalation,
 So fatal proves to th' plum'd creation :
 Engag'd in everlasting hissing,
 And from poluted sink dismissing ;
 Such ranc'rous epithets, as shew, 1205

The noxious font from whence they flow ;
 And prov'd, as soon as they were spoke,
 Two contrast members in one cloke ;

Or in a familie as good,
Two faces cover'd with a hood ; 1210

—A noble Senator of state,
 And ignoble of Billings-gate ;
 We're told such bitterness of stile,
 May please the rabble for a while ;
 But does not with the lib'ral suit, 1215
 Must therefore turn t' our disrepute.

All this, it must be own'd, is true,
 But Faction, what is't all to you ?
 Sedition might his gifts pervert,
 And sometime be absurd and pert ; 1220

Which only proves a gen'ral rule,
 No Club without its knave and fool ;
 Nor can the wisest Whig b' exempt,
 From acts deserving of contempt ;
 Whigism communicates no more 1225

Discretion than men had before ;

No

No virtue waits on th' appellation,
 Nor politick illumination ;
 We only grow more prompt t' attend,
 To errors which we cannot mend. 1230

We form a Junction with design,
 To obviate, and undermine ;
 And this donounce a kind intent,
 The publick ruin to prevent ;
 Call opposition, though from spite, 1235
 And selfish views ; a nat'ral right ;
 Establish'd by the Revolution,
 However pregnant with confusion.

Such zeal Sedition still has shewn,
 To whims and projects of his own ; 1240
 And is in their support so warm,
 It does his fav'rite object harm.
 H' had been more wise perhaps t' have dropt,
 Some measures which he did adopt ;
 And not tenaciously adhered, 1245
 To spoil what *Captain Right* had spared.

But I should offer in excuse,
 For all his clerical abuse ;
 And sacrilegious intention,
 T' oppress the church, and please dissention ; 1250
 Beside his passion for applause,
 And t' be a leader in the cause ;
 Had he not still found means to grumble,
 He had been poorer and more humble.
 Then who'll deny that opposition, 1255
 Does argue rightly for ambition ;
 When it is plain whate'er we do,
 We still have benefit in view.

Whilst

Whilst Faction prefs'd with fore vexation,
 Held with himself this lamentation ; 1260
 Sedition from the witch return'd,
 Just as the Club had been adjourn'd.
 The cause, when he had learn'd it, more,
 Than the event, disturb'd him fore ;
 By consultation with the Hag, 1265
 He found but little room to brag ;
 Conceiv'd that the effect they fought,
 In a reform would come to nought ;
 That the Establish'd church and state,
 Were fix'd by the decrees of Fate. 1270
 And now perceiv'd more desp'rate pushes,
 Would terminate in Faction's blushes ;
 That further Scandal and Chicane,
 To gull the Vulgar would be vain ;
 And this distressing news to tell, 1275
 Directs his steps to Faction's cell.

At home his mournful friend he found,
 Sullen and prostrate on the ground ;
 In soliloquious grief appear'd,
 Diffus'd his locks, unshav'd his beard. 1280
 For as the Nazaritish vow,
 Did no retrenching hair allow ;
 So Faction, and Sedition both,
 Being link't together by one oath ;
 By temper, int'rest, and by blood, 1285
 To make their fav'rite purpose good ;
 They both by Nazaritish whim,
 Nor head would comb, nor beard would trim ;
 Untill the hopes which they erected,
 On a Reform, was quite effected. 1290
 And

And as those Jews, who heretofore,
 To fast till Paul they murther'd, swore;
 By *Claudius Liscus* disappointed,
 In their designs on God's annointed;
 Must, if they kept their oaths, have starv'd, 1295
 So these were likely to be serv'd;
 And had they to their vows adher'd,
 Would have, than goats, a longer beard;
 —And greyer too; for each might wear one,
 Upon those terms, to th' age of Aaron. 1300
 But Faction's mind engross'd b' his vow,
 Had stamp'd a sterness on his brow;
 Still made more fierce by rage and heat,
 From this adjournment and defeat.

Sedition griev'd to see this dole, 1305
 Which not his tidings could console;
 Began to think that to declare,
 The truth would drive him to despair.
 Yet by the rule of friendship's laws;
 When friends are linkt in the same cause; 1310
 He who a circumstance doth hide,
 Seems to desert his brother's side
 So without further hesitation,
 He thus began the sad relation.

I soon found out the witches dwelling, 1315
 Set her a conjuring and spelling.
 She put a taper in my hand,
 And in her own she held a wand;
 Then of my other hand took hold,
 And bid me be resolv'd and bold. 1320
 Conducted by her to a shade,
 In which we enter'd through a glade:

Though

Though soft my tread, yet still I found,
 As I advanc'd the earth resound.
 Of dogs I heard tremendous howls, 1325
 The scream of cats, and screech of owls ;
 Whilst bats the taper did pursue,
 And every step around me flew.
 We reach'd at length an open place,
 Where the full moon display'd its face ; 1330
 And where the ground instead of stones,
 Was spread with human skulls, and bones ;
 Here rob'd in black, and her feet bare,
 With visage pale, dishevel'd hair ;
 With howling voice, and slow parade, 1335
 Canidia thrice a circuit made,
 Now like the Fury she assails,
 And tears the earth ope with her nails ;
 And having in her arms a cat,
 All black, she immolated that ; 1340
 This with three serpents teeth, she laid,
 In that same trench her nails had made ;
 And after cov'ring these with care,
 She mutter'd to herself a prayer ;
 A mystic gibberish unknown, 1345
 Except to Hags ; and Elves alone.
 Next from the trench, by help of string,
 Just three feet long she made a ring ;
 And when she mark'd out with her wand,
 A circle where I was to stand ; 1350
 Keep you, said she, within that sphere,
 And what you see you need not fear.
 And now articulate she spoke,
 Did *Hecate* aloud invoke ;

K.

And

And with a most tremendous yell, 1355
 Call'd fierce *Tisiphone* from Hell.
 Now *Cerberus* th' infernal hound,
 And serpents fill th' unhallow'd mound ;
 The blushing moon withdrew her light,
 Abhorring the infernal rite. 1360
 The moon's retreat brought on a gloom ;
 Which forc'd *Canidia* to illume,
 The place by fire, and this she made
 By phosphorus, and the bones o' the dead.
 Now thrice the ground with wand she smote, 1365
 And thrice th' infernals bid take note ;
 Of this her zealous sacrifice,
 And quick upon this earth to rise.
 Now *Hecate* distinct appears,
 With her three heads, and twice three ears ; 1370
 Whilst stern *Tisiphone*, that fiend
 Of aspect fierce, stood close behind.
 A hideous silence now ensued
 'Twixt the infernal friend and brood ;
 When *Hecate*, with frightful smile, 1375
 Address'd *Canidia* in this stile.
 I'm come to let *Canidia* know,
 Her rites are much approv'd below ;
 And though 'tis known for private ends,
 Such incense to his realm descends, 1380
 Yet *Pluto* by my mouth declares,
 Himself still pliant to her prayers.
 Make known th' import of your petition,
 And if it squares with my commission ;
 It shall be granted by myself, 1385
 If not, I'll be your humble Elf,

Re-vist

Re-visit quick the lower spheres,
And bring your wants to Pluto's ears.

To this Canidia now replied,
You can't what I would know decide ; 1390

Yet it will be resolv'd by Sillyer,
Sprite, than yourself, my dear Familiar.

Return to Pluto then my friend,
And tell him instantly to send,
In that enchanted ring, the Spectre 1395

Of England's once renown'd Protector.

Quick as the lightning in the skies,
These goblins vanish from our eyes.

Though calm before yet now a breeze,
Began to rustle 'mongst the trees ; 1400

When now the wind began to blow ;

And louder still and louder grow ;

Till with such violence the blast,

Became a hurricane at last.

So Boreas first with lenient breeze, 1405

Moves gently the light leaves of trees ;

And then with cheek inflate doth blow,

And shakes the lab'ring trunks below ;

Still gath'ring strength sad ruin spreads,

Whilst Oaks bow down their hoary heads ; 1410

His furious blasts the groves deform,

Whilst desolation marks the storm.

This storm the apparition brought

Of Cromwell ; to th' enchanted spot.

Immediately it ceas'd, and then, 1415

A silent calm return'd again.

With fullen brow, but accent meek,

The Spectre thus began to speak.

Why am I forc'd by Destinies,
From the infernal shades to rise? 1420

And why from utter darkness drove,
To this detested light above?

Was there not in those shades a Sprite,
Than me more anxious of the light;
Or wretch deserving to be curst, 1425

As I am now with racks the worst?
When pause of torment intervenes,
It still redoubles future pains;

As culprit stretch'd upon the wheel,
More sharp the ling'ring blow doth feel; 1430
So more severe will darkness prey,
From reminiscence of the day.

Quick then, I pray, the reason tell,
Why thus am I sent forth from Hell;
And what it is you want to know, 1435
Of the resolves of Fate below?

Canidia said—I've brought the Elf,
Before you—question him yourself.

And now I open'd my commission.
By Faction sent—my name Sedition; 1440
In matters dubious and nice
I seek your prescience and advice.

This kingdom which once felt your scourge,
Is now dispos'd itself to purge;
Of that corruption, and pollution, 1445
Which now infect the constitution:

And this the better to effect,
A set of men, call'd Whigs, select;
And now from diff'rent clubs convent,
To work a Reformation, bent; 1450

Not

Not much unlike that quondam stump,
 Of Parliament, then call'd the Rump ;
 Who the incautious to deceive,
 Endeavour to make men believe ;
 That all our patriot struggles tend, 1455
 True members in the house to send.
 But we are, most of us your true sons,
 And influenc'd by resolutions ;
 When we have got the power to trample,
 On church and state by your example. 1460
 Now let us not proceed on guess,
 Declare if we may hope success ;
 And should the state of things endure it,
 Point out the method to secure it.

The apparition thus replied. 1465
 O'er ev'ry legal rule to stride ;
 To swell with party rage and foam,
 And through licentious paths to roam ;
 Thus far to go has been allow'd,
 To Faction's, miscall'd, patriot Croud. 1470
 But now Sedition's moon swell'd flood,
 Is ebb'd so low you're near the mud ;
 The jealousies from feign'd misrule,
 Exploded now grow faint and cool.
 Rous'd from delusive dreams, the wise 1475
 Your selfish patriotism despise ;
 And wonder how such artful knaves,
 Could write, or speech men into slaves:
 Behold (said he, with pointing hand)
 My once cotemporary Band ; 1480
 Those Patriots in Elysian shapes,
 Of whom you now are living apes.

Observed

Observe in that ærial vision,
 How each fanatick politician ;
 Through the impulse of warm devotion, 1485
 Excited tumult and commotion ;
 And spread throughout the realm distress,
 And from th' event hope your success.

At this I turn'd myself about,
 And saw a congregated rout ; 1490
 Of visionary Beings, who
 Were doing what we patriots do.
 The Scene of action, a Theatre,
 Great as our Senate house, and greater.
 Before them lay a monstrous pile, 1495
 Of papers—different in stile :
 On one distinctly from my station,
 I read—*A Borough reformation ;*
 And on another could descry,
 The word—*Responsibility.* 1500
 Whilst on another there appears,
Free Trade, in largest Characters.
 Upon another I could trace,
 The words—*A Pension Bill, and Place :*
 One threw a paper from his hand, 1505
 Inscrib'd—*No tithes on barren land ;*
 Another cast from his this Scrawl,
N^o Establish'd Church, nor tithes at all.
 Now whilst I thus had been proceeding,
 And all the diff'rent titles reading ; 1510
 'Mongst which I plainly could espy,
 Some factious publick prints to ly
 With inexpressible amaze,
 I saw the whole rise in a blaze.

A fellow

A fellow, who seem'd clad in Gold, 1515
 More active than the rest and bold;
 Approaching with a lighted taper,
 Applied it to the pile of paper.
 Another from a little distance,
 Advanced, and lent him his assistance. 1520
 This was a mean ill looking rogue
 Who hoop'd and halloo'd with a brogue;
 And as the paper pile was burning,
 He still kept stirring it, and turning;
 And whilst he thus employ'd had been, 1525
 Kept throwing squibs, and crackers in;
 Which in explosions loud went off,
 And ended in a vulgar laugh.
 With these were some inferior fellows,
 Who with their mouths, instead of bellows; 1530
 Blew up the flames to such a pitch,
 As forc'd me thus to address the Witch.
 I fear Canidia, without water,
 Those flames will damage the Theatre;
 And think I see the President, 1535
 Too careless sit, and negligent;
 When he could soon disperse the rout,
 And stamp with ease the Bone-fire out.
 To this Canidia replied,
 'Tis better let the flames subside; 1540
 They are but feeble lucid flashes,
 And soon will terminate in ashes.
 When paper feeds the conflagration,
 'Tis weak and of no long duration;
 Then better let it crack and bounce, 1545
 Than strive t' extinguish it at once;

For

For if not suffer'd thus to dwindle,
 Some sparks hereafter may rekindle.
 It does indeed create a smother,
 But mischief it can do no other ;
 Except the fingers burn perhaps
 Of some of those unruly chaps ;
 And should this prove to be their lots,
 'Twill well reward such patriots.

1550

The person whom you see there sit,
 With others (as if in a pit
 Attentive to a play) unfrighten'd,
 Although it flash'd as if it lighten'd ;
 On whom the title you confer,
 Of *President*, is *Manager*

1555

And those spectators of the scene,
 Who sit around him, are *the Dean*,
And Clergy of a See, collected,
 Both to protect, and be protected ;
 From being blown up, and undermin'd
 By Craft misleading the purblind ;
 As heretofore it was the case,
 You know by whom, and in what place.

1560

1565

In this converse I ne'er withdrew ;
 My eyes from this tumult'ous crew ;
 When lo! the man bedawb'd with lace,
 Approach'd the pit or audience place ;
 And in his hand some ashes got,
 Glowing as he could bear them hot,
 These he with sneer malevolent,
 At th' *Manager*, and *Clergy* sent ;
 Designedly as I suppose,
 To smut them well, or burn their clothes ;

1570

1575

Yet

Yet he would have it understood,
Intended for the publick good. 1580

Aa if t' expell a harmlesse mouse,
'Twas best to set in flames the house.

But though these infamous endeavours,
And patriot mode of publick favours,
Afforded to the rout diversion, 1585

Yet so it prov'd that this aspersion,
Did neither soil or hurt them sore,

But added to their lustre more :
Whilst Brougeaneer who had his pockets

Well cramm'd with crackers, squibs, and rockets
Was by a spark that touch'd the train,
Disgracefully blown up and slain :

And what surpris'd me much his fate
Seem'd pleasing to his intimate ;
The gilded patriot, who 'twas said 1595
The train to ruin him hath laid.

His converse re-assum'd this ghost
Says,—Such th' event of all this boast ;
So terminated all our ranting,
And patriotick covenanting ; 1600

So ended all our musquetteering,
Our railing, lying, domineering ;
Our boasted aid of Providence

In our advantage and defence ;
Which terminated in disgrace, 1605
And ruin to our patriot race :

For then the friends of church and state,
Were deem'd corrupt and reprobate ;
Whilst these t' oppose did still denote,

As it does now, the Patriot. 1610

So *Carew, Clement, Coke, and Scrope*,
 Rewarded were with axe, or rope;
 So *Lambert, Fleetwood, Desborow, Lental*,
 The like difaster underwent all.
 Whilst I who had before resign'd, 1615
 My life in furious blast of wind;
 Have been extracted from the tomb,
 To share a malefactor's doom.

On gallows my remains suspended,
 And buried there; my glory ended. 1620
 Now what advantage did accrue,
 From all those civil broils to you?
 Or who a christian blessing traces,
 From *Colemans* rants, or *Vines*, or *Cases*?
 Except the multiplying Sects, 1625
 Serves to encrease divine respects;
 As was th' opinion and advice,
 Of my belov'd Apostle *Price*.

But now the temper of the times,
 Will spurn at such enormous crimes, 1630
 That vulgar enthusiastick mind,
 Which still the populous doth blind;
 And the hypocrisy in vogue,
 Which made the fool believe the rogue;
 Is wanting your success to crown, 1635
 And bring th' establish'd clergy down.

Besides; your king a *Briton* born,
 Whom ev'ry virtue does adorn;
 Whose daily conduct does confess,
 No pow'r he seeks, but pow'r to bless; 1640
 Who from his rank no priv'lege draws,
 Himself first subject of the laws;

Suc h.

Such state of things might ope the eyes,
 Of the unprejudiced and wise;
 And might direct your expectations, 1645
 Without infernal informations.

But since no other will suffice,
 And I'm sent here to give advice;
 'This charge then to your senders bear,
 Let them religiously revere, 1650
 The constitution and the King;
 And let me whisper this one thing.
 No longer let false hopes deceive,
 Your party has not long to live.
 He said, and with a sudden flight, 1655
 Departed to the realms of night.

Deposited to the credit of the
Hotel, and with a further
request for a long time
No longer for the same
And for the whole of the
the continent of the
and then religiously
the change that is
And I'm not alone
The time is over will
I hope to return
I am sure that
I hope to return

N O T E S

ON THE

F I R S T C A N T O,

Line 70, As GUARDIANS, &c.

(1) OUR Modern Whigs having dignified themselves with the Title of Patriots, and annexed the epithet of virtuous, to their fraternity ; so like the pharisees of old they take upon them to stigmatize every body else with the most opprobrious appellations. This will appear from some explanatory notes which I have collected from the Belfast Mercury, published in the year 1784 ; which has not only retailed all the patriot spleen of other periodical papers, but has given us some tart samples of its own ; And may be truly said to speak the sentiments of the Dissenting Patriots of Ulster.

CASTLE MEETING.

At a numerous meeting of the enemies of Ireland, consisting of
Borough-Jobbing-Peers ; Corrupt Commoners, Blundering Privy
L Counsellors,

Counsellors, and the whole Phalanx of Squanderers of publick money, Commissioners, Pimps, &c.

Drunken Charley in the Chair. Bel. Mer. July 27, 1784.

Line 132. PERSERVERE.

(2) Persevere says the Venerable Charlemont, Persevere my Dear Countrymen and we shall attain in process of time to the Summit of our desires. See the Irish Helots third Letter.

Line 170. Epistles that were never wrote.

(3) A Man calling himself Flattery kept a Publick-House in Dublin, where two Officers of the Army had been, and in a state of intoxication taking a forcible kiss from the Landlady, a scuffle ensued which terminated to the disadvantage of the Officers both in person and purse. The opposition intending to interest Government in this freak, the following Card appeared in most of the News-Papers.

Mr. Secretary Orde's respects to Mr. Flattery, has just received his letter ; wishes to have the pleasure of seeing him at his office soon as convenient.

Mr. Flattery's respects to Secretary Orde, Informs that he or any person for him, never had the pleasure of sending him a letter.— See Bel. Mer. August 10th, 1784.

Mr. Secretary Orde thought proper in the publick papers to declare the above a forgery

Line 315. Shew'd that for N——m he'd pass.

(4) This person pledged himself to move in the House of Commons, that tithes should be no longer confined to the established Clergy ; but that every one should pay tithes to his own Spiritual Pastor.

Line 369. The memorable Trial of Preston.

(5) Preston was a Captain in the Army then at Boston ; who being sent with a party of Soldiers to disperse a mob, and some blood being shed on the occasion ; the Captain was arraigned for murder ; and the false oaths that were sworn on the trial by the Patriotick Knights of the Post ; were as disgraceful to the prosecutors, as the acquittance of the Prisoner was honourable to his Judges and the Jury.

Line

Line 380. Did not the Patriot Vintners Flattery.

(6) See Note, N 3

Line 553. Unask'd they gave because afraid.

(7) The apprehensions entertained of the principles and strength of the Volunteers, have been justly considered as operating very powerfully on the Court Parliament and people of Britain ; and if Britain finds them in earnest about a Reform, and determined to have it at all events, she will most certainly acquiesce. She is still bleeding from the amputation she has suffered during a ruinous and bloody war ; and she hath learned that expensive lesson from America not to go to war again with her friends. But in the worst case that can happen, Succour is sure and Success certain. Bel. Mer. Sep. 17th, 1764.

Line 581. Some thousand Cartridges prepared.

(8) A Subscription is set on foot at Newry for providing the company with Ball Cartridges which will amount to fifty rounds a man. Bel. Mer. May 14th, 1784.

To the Ulster Regiment—I beg leave to lay one matter before you, the propriety of which I humbly submit to your dispassionate reasons. What I allude to is the providing for the Regiment a stock of Ball-Cartridges ; and the speediest method you can adopt for that purpose. Bel. Mer. May 25, 1784.

The Volunteers of Armagh hold themselves in readiness with an hundred rounds of Ball-Cartridges to take the field on the shortest notice ; in order to co-operate with the rest of the Volunteers to maintain the rights of Ireland. Bel. Mer. May 28, 1784.

N O T E S
ON THE
S E C O N D C A N T O,

Line 27, T' address him publickly design'd,

(1) RESOLVED unanimously, that the Philanthropy of the French nation ; in its generous support of the Rights of Mankind particularly instanced in their conduct to our American Brethren merits the warmest esteem and admiration of every Irishman. Bel. Mer. May 7, 1784.

It is in contemplation among the leaders of the Independent Army, to address that great friend to the Liberties of mankind. Lewis the Sixteenth—peculiarly exemplified in the noble disinterested part took in behalf of our dear Brethren in America, when they groan'd under the yoke of infatuated Britain. It will mark the Volunteer character in superior colouring ; surpassing even the transcendent lustre with which it has shone since the year 1778. Bel. Mer. May 28th, 1784.

Line

Line 81, Bold Gen'als there without commission.

(2) The absurdity of being called Generals, Colonels, Majors, &c. &c. without any other commission but what was derived from the vote of a Shoe-maker or Taylor in the ranks gave birth to the following paragraph.

Colonel F——d who commands a very fine Corps of Artillery in the west of this kingdom ; to render them the more regular, has issued commissions to his officers, neatly printed on Vellum, and made in the same form as those delivered to the standing army. It is to be wished this mode was to be adopted by other Colonels, Bel. Mer. June 8th, 1784.

Line 215, A Baxter, Coleman, Brooks, and Vines,

(3) Baxter in his Saints Rest, part 3, page 91. Says, The Episcopal Clergy are as zealous for crosses and surplices ; bowing at the name of Jesus ; receiving the Sacrament upon their knees as if eternal life consisted in so doing

Coleman in his sermon to the parliament 1643 says the Hierarchy is become a fretting engrene ; a spreading leprocy, and insupportable tyranny ; up with it, up with it to the bottom root and branch, hip and thigh ; destroy those Amalekites that their place may be no more found.

Line 237, Like that of Derry which suborns:

(4) The deputy Synod of Derry in an address to Doctor Campbell, signed Hugh Brooke, Moderator, and John Law, Clerk ; which begins with nonsense, proceeds with misrepresentation, and concludes with lies and ill language, declaring that every dispassionate Church-man condemned his Lordship's pamphlet as injurious calumnies on the characters and principles of the Presbyterians of Ireland, calling his Lordship a Destroying Spirit, and Doctor Campbell, a Restoring Angel

Line 293, For if this trade should be productive,

(5) Ireland has obtained, what has been called a Free-Trade, and an Independent constitution ; two of the greatest curses that ever beset this country ; unless they be crowned with a Parliamentary Reform. See the Irish Helot's letter.

Line 392, And the curb'd press, insult no more.

(6) By taking away the Liberty of the Press, they have stabbed the existence of Freedom, and opened the road to everlasting slavery.—Irishmen may think, but must not dare to make known their thoughts.—Senators, though infamous, must be above reproof.—The Star-Chamber doctrine is revived.—O Irishmen! will you behold your ruin, nor attempt your safety? Will you be trod on by the creatures you have raised, and give them power to destroy your rights? Rouse, I say, proclaim your wrongs; call on your Sovereign, to dissolve a herd of Hirelings, a band of Pensioners; throw them from their seats of Legislature, into the common lumber.—

Bel. Mer. April 20, 1784.

Line 444, Of these Dundonald Gentilleffe.

(8) Dundonald is an obscure parish, in the County of Down, remarkable only for the factious resolves, and politick impertinence of some Independent Congregations who often assemble there, and take upon them to address the leaders of Opposition, and to point out a plan for their legislative conduct. They addressed Mr. Grattan, and told him, they looked up to him for the abolition of Tithes.

Line 562, Which live and die upon the tongue.

(8) There are eight resolves of the Carrickfergus Royal Volunteers. The 5th of which runs in these words. Resolved, (with three dissenting voices,) That we consider our present happy Constitution maturely formed by the wisdom, and established by the valour of our Ancestors, as the basis and security of our Liberties; and pledge ourselves, that we will defend it with our lives and fortunes. Upon this resolve, there is the following remark. These sentiments of acquiescence in slavery, are mean; Reason revolts against the flagrant sacrifice of common sense. Three only were found virtuous enough to dissent in favour of Liberty. And in a remark on the 6th Resolve; these Royal Volunteers are stigmatized, for taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty.—Bel. Mer. July 30, 1784. These are the people so liberal of their professions of Loyalty; and so touchy upon being charged with disloyalty. Who, with the complaisance of Trincaulo to his competitor Stephano, will condescend to suffer the King of England, to be the Majesty of Ireland; provided the Majesty of the People, is to be King over him.

NOTES

N O T E S

ON THE

T H I R D C A N T O.

Line 61, Whose vacant seats caus'd sneers and greeting.

(1) IN the Belf. Mer. of January 7, 1785, is the following lamentation.—It is strange, that Gentlemen of large fortunes and acknowledged character, who once ardently supported the Volunteers, and accepted an appointment to Convention, should now shrink back in languor from both, by disgracefully deserting the Standard of Liberty, displayed to animate an oppressed people, to rescue their natural rights from the tyrannical grasp of a rapacious Aristocracy.

Line 240, Like Gordon's base and formidable.

(2) Alluding to the mob, raised by Lord George Gordon, which did so much mischief in the City of London, and for which, he is now confined in Newgate.

Line 262, A Parliament Reform to settle.

(3) In an Address to the People of Ireland, in the Belf. Mer. of Octo r 15, 1784, under the signature of Philopatria; It is observed,

served, that in respect to a Parliamentary Reform, more had been done towards its total overthrow, by the idle speculations of its pretended friends, than probably could have been effected by the open attacks, or secret stratagems of its avowed enemies. This Writer recommends a Reform, entirely on the principles of the Revolution; says, that every deviation from, or addition to those principles would be so many advances to their final ruin. And concludes, by saying,—The Americans are your friends—The French are your friends; They are both ready at a call, to step into your aid; and with such friends on your side, can you doubt of Success?

Line 285, And then such pompous cavalcades.

(4) Nothing could equal the pomp and parade of the Delegates at this Convention, except the ridiculous mimicry of Parliament in their proceedings. It is astonishing to think, that so many men of real property and understanding, should expect to obtrude their projects upon the Parliament; and how tame and abject must the Parliaments have appeared, did they suffer themselves to be influenced by a band of armed men, to adopt their Resolves, and give sanction to a Bill, formed by an unconstitutional body of men, intoxicated with an imaginary importance. Previous to the introduction of this Bill, the following paragraph appeared in the Belf. Mer. of April 12, 1785. The people should be alive to the fate of Mr. Flood's motion.—Mark the Members, who act for and against their darling measure.—They must not rescind a point of their purpose; if slumbering justice cannot be awaked by solemn appeals three millions of people can argue in thunder.

After the Bill was hooted out of the Commons, the following paragraph appeared in the Belf. Mer. Dec. 26, 1783.—Whence does it proceed, that our Parliament has assumed such a disregard towards the wishes and commands of their masters; is it not from a reliance on the numerous bands of soldiers, with whom they hope to intimidate our Volunteers? Has not the attacker the advantage of the attacked? Shall we then remain inactive, till the whole body, twenty or thirty thousand men are properly disposed, and have the chains ready to impose on us?

Line 335, O that in Lethe might be drown'd.

(5) This quarrel between the Patriots, Grattan and Flood, happened in the House of Commons, October 28, 1783; It is too fresh
in

in every body's memory, too long, and too scurrillous to be repeated.
It was followed by this Epigram—

Sage Grattan berogues his compatriot Flood,
And Flood gives to Grattan abuse full as good ;
That both are good Patriots, all Patriots maintain,
Then Patriots allow, they are villains in grain.

See Belf. Mer. Nov. 14, 1783.

Line 343, Whilst Whores are thus impeach'd by Clodius.

(6) Clodius was a Citizen of Ancient Rome, infamous for Whoredom.

Line 404, Churchmen, Dissenters, Papists too.

(7) It was inserted in the Belfast News-Letter, that a Company of Volunteers was formed at Carrickfergus, of the above different Religions ; that the Captain was of the Established Church ; the Lieutenant a Dissenter, and the Ensign a Roman Catholick.

Line 410, O'Hanlon seated in the Chair.

(8) O'Hanlon is an Inn-Keeper in Newry, and being a Roman Catholick, it was said, that at a Meeting of that persuasion, he was placed in the Chair, when it was resolved, That the Roman Catholicks, as Citizens, had a right to bear Arms, and join in the ranks of their Fellow-Citizens. If there was such a Meeting of Catholicks, and such a Resolve had passed, they must have been instigated by an Address of the Newry Volunteers, wherein they were told, that the Volunteers threw open their ranks for their admission ; that they would consider every Roman Catholick, who becomes a Member of their Corps, not only as an addition of strength, but of respect to it.

Belf. Mer. May 25, 1784.

This invitation is the ground of the enmity, between the Roman Catholicks and the Dissenters, which at present prevails.

Line 420, You bid them exercise their patience.

(9) In an Address to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, under the Signature of Solon, they are told, that when the Protestants in general

neral, were well inclined to include the Roman Catholics in their Plan of Reform; a clamour was industriously raised against the measure, by the tools of the Aristocracy. Therefore, should a Reform take place, they are desired not to be disappointed, if they are not included; and are advised to submit with their accustomed temper and patience to the necessity of the times; because their claims, if pressed, will embarrass their friends.

Belf. Mer. Jan. 21, 1785.

How much easier is it to give, than to take advice? Why do not the Dissenters follow the Rule they laid down for others, and submit to the necessity of the times, without attempting to overthrow the Constitution in Church and State?

Line 452, Of Boston Saints and Gordonites.

(10) The Bostonians execrated the measures of Government, in granting the Canadians the liberty of their Religious Principles, though stipulated by the most solemn Treaties. The mischiefs done by a mob of Dissenters, headed by Lord George Gordon, in 1780, and the burning of the Mass-Houses in Scotland, in 1778, are the points here alluded to.

Line 476, Did first of all consent refuse,

(11) Lord Charlemont in his Answer to the Delegates of the Volunteers, reviewed by him at Belfast, the 13th of July, 1784, expresses himself in these words. From your disapproving the present limitation of the Right of Suffrage, I am to conclude, that you would wish to communicate the elective privilege with our Catholic Fellow Subjects. This, is indeed, a matter of nice and delicate discussion.—I have given the subject every consideration in my power; and am sorry to say, that my decision, essentially differs from yours; nor, in this, am I singular among the real Friends to Reform.

Belf. Mer. July 20, 1784.

Line 484, Of all a Suffrage Vote disclaim.

(12) The Irish Helot took upon him, in the name of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to renounce all claim to the right of voting at Elections, and repeated this renunciation twice, in a few lines.—

See Irish Helot's 5th letter.

Line

Line 503, And brand them as a paltry rabble.

(13) Orallana says the Roman Catholicks, are not as yet capable of a Suffrage vote, because there are no persons of fortune and consequence amongst them.

See Irish Helot's 5th letter.

To this it has been answered in behalf of the Roman Catholicks, that they have a numerous Peerage and Baronage; with many Gentlemen of great landed property, besides a number of rich merchants of their community, which no Dissenter from the established Church can boast.

Line 842, The Clerick Sons of tithes and plunder.

(14) What good would the best laws in the world in other respects do us, if such an evil as a Rector remained to rob the Poor? For though an oppressive Landlord must be allowed to be a sore evil, yet it is but a mole-hill to a mountain in respect of this other. But if we had a radical Reform, these evils would certainly be removed, or else the poor would be little the better for every other good.

Belf. Mer. Nov. 9, 1784.

Sure such another set of servants of the Devil as Rectors, are not in the world—I wonder when such a thing as a Rector took place? But it is no matter, when they were established; their oppressions, and every other grievance will be done away, if we get a Reform.

Belf. Mer. Jan. 4, 1785.

Words cannot make it more evident, than the overthrow of the established Church, was intended by the abettors of a Reform.

Line 860, By coping this with former ages.

(15) Orallana, or the Irish Helot, declares himself a Slave, and endeavours to persuade the Irish, that they are in the same situation; because our Government, like all human Institutions, partakes of the imperfections of our nature; and which, was it possible to be completely

completely perfect, would require an order of Beings, superior to man, to preserve it in that State, Greece and Rome have been cried up, as models of Republican Freedom. Yet, they were perfectly Aristocracies. The Patricians, engrossing all the Power ; if any of the people presumed to assert their liberties, they were dispatched without trial or ceremony.

Even Sparta, from whence Orakana takes the title of Helot, was a Republick, built upon laws, calculated for a nation of Soldiers, such as no man in his senses, would wish to live under ; their liberty, was in reality, the most wretched Slavery.

Athens, celebrated for learning, and every polite accomplishment, was harrassed by successive Tyrants, and the most virtuous, were often expelled by Ostracism, at the instigation of some factious Orator or Demagogue. All the modern Republicks, such as Holland, Venice, Genoa, &c. are perfect Aristocracies. As for America, all we know of it, is, that it is in its infant State ; and what it may turn out, is more than any person can, with certainty declare.

Upon the whole, if Orakana's head, had not been filled with ideas of liberty that never existed, he would find as much of it at present in Ireland, as in any other Kingdom upon Earth.

NOTES

N O T E S
ON THE
F O U R T H C A N T O .

Line 4, What he could neither read nor write.

(1) Wood in his Life of Homer, says, that great Bard, could neither write nor read.

Line 56, A Bird of monstrous shape and size.

(2) The Dublin Evening-Post, printed in Trinity-Street.

Line 68, Another like a Soland Goose.

(3) The Volunteer's Journal, or, Irish Herald, printed in Crampton-Court.

Line 77, Another Bird, by all unmatched.

(4) The Phoenix, printed by Amias Griffith.

Line

Line 85, And for his filchings and his Mockings.

(5) By filching, is here meant his plagiarisms, the most humorous and entertaining part of that paper, being transcripts from ancient Authors.

Line 106, Be instant shut, and made secure.

(6) Previous to entering upon business, it was moved by a Mr. D'Arcy, that the Gallery in the Exhibition-Room, where the Convention met, should be cleared; and that every person, who was not a Delegate, should be obliged to depart: That the Members should be bound in honour, not to divulge any matters that may transpire: lest Government should counteract their designs; and the reason given, was, because they had to deal with the most corrupt men, in the most corrupt times; in times, that for iniquity, are without parallel; and far exceed even those of the infernal Nero.

Belf. Mer. Oct. 29, 1785.

And, in another Mercury, it was said, That the Wisdom of Congress, in refusing to gratify the curiosity of intruders, and privately debating on the important scheme of a Reform, is obvious. No steps can be taken by the Aristocracy, to ward off the impending blow. No plan can be adopted by Government, to seduce the Members of the Congress from their duty to their Electors. And no idea can be formed of the mode of Reform they mean to submit to the publick.

Belf. Mer. Jan. 25, 1785.

Line 244, Would put each other on the rack.

(7) To confirm this assertion, I refer to the altercation between Eudoxus, Candidus, and Amicus Veritas, in the Belf. Mer. of July 8, 1785; grounded on the propriety or impropriety of taking the King's bounty to dissenting Teachers, in order to augment the slender contributions of their Congregations. In which, and for their

their different modes of faith and practice in receiving the Sacrament, they display as much religious virulence, as they could possibly exhibit to the Established Church. The whole is too prolix for a note ; but I cannot omit, what is advanced by one of them, relative to the King. The King, says he, is set up as a prelatic King, and is bound to maintain prelacy so long as he is King ; therefore, to pray for the down-bringing of Prelacy, is praying for the down-fall of the King, with all the pillars, props, and stays thereof.

And, in another Mercury, it is said. It is unlawful for the Clergy of any Presbyterian Society, especially for those, who have lifted up a testimony for a covenanted Reformation, to receive any donation, less or more, from the present Supreme Magistrate. That obedience, even to good and wholesome laws made by the present civil Government, is inconsistent with the said testimony, and direct rebellion against Christ the King of Zion.——That the present Supreme Magistrate, is not possessed of such a measure of Scriptural qualifications, as gives us sufficient ground to think, that he holds his Office from Christ, as head of the Church.

Belf. Mer. July 26, 1785.

Line 268, With th' adage of Minervam Sus.

(8) A Proverb, signifying a fool, taking upon him to dictate to a wise man.

Line 344, On all the drunkards in the nation.

(9) By a Statute of the 21st of James the First, and other preceding Statutes still in force. A drunken man is finable in five shillings for the first offence, or upon non-payment, to be put in the Stocks for six hours ; and for the second offence, to give ten pounds security, for his appearance and good behaviour till the next Sessions. No Ale-house-Keeper is to suffer any of his townsmen to sit tippling at his house ; and any Ale-house-Keeper, who shall get drunk himself, is ipso facto rendered incapable of following that business for three years. One would imagine, that if these Statutes were rigidly enforced, it would check this too prevailing vice more effectually, than the late Statute is likely to do.

Line

Line 545, Or calling them to publick places.

(10) The Opponents of Government, who are ever insinuating, that the State is in danger from the number of avaricious, profligate, corrupted, and corrupting Servants of the Crown, should point out a mode of obviating or removing this misfortune. His Majesty must have Ministers, to assist in the management of the Kingdom. He endeavours to find out honest men, and men of abilities, for the several departments of State ; but no perfection of talents, has been found capable of reconciling the jarring interests of Faction and Fealty. Now, if the Whig-Club will give us a list of such Noblemen, Gentlemen, or Citizens of inferior denomination ; who will fill the high Offices of State better, and more worthily than they are filled at present, they will do their country more service, than exclaiming against men and measures, as they are perpetually doing. But, as Mr. Ponsonby, in his (published) Speech in the House of Commons, Feb. 3, 1791, said, I have heard men in Opposition, very clamorous against places. I have heard men profess much publick spirit, when actuated only by principles of private interest. And I have seen those very men accept of places, who were most clamorous against them ; and accept places not in the most honourable circumstances. I have thus seen hypocrisy stripped of its garb, and exposed to public contempt, in its native deformity. Now, since this is the picture of a Whig, drawn by a Whig, and no dabbler in Science neither ; it is to be hoped, that the Club will take care to chuse men incapable of such direllection, and from whose principles and capacities, we may with certainty depend, for a larger share of freedom and prosperity. But, till better men are produced ; and whilst the King shews no propensity to invade the publick freedom, a firm support of his Ministers, will be found the surest method of preserving the prosperity of the Kingdom.

Line 714, A company to trade to China.

(11) There is nothing marks the opponent principles of our modern patriots so strongly, as their insisting on a participation of trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, when not only the Whale Fishery, which is a mine of gold to several towns in England and Scotland is totally neglected. But even the fishery of Newfoundland, and the herring fishery on our coast, is in a languishing state. In a pamphlet, published in London, in 1785, there is a severe animadversion on this folly, in a dialogue, between Sandy, a Scotchman, and Paddy, an Irishman. It is rather long for a note, but there is too much humour and good sense in it to be neglected. Sandy observing

ing Paddy dressed as a Volunteer, asked him, if he had lately fallen heir to some considerable estate, which enabled him to wear such fine cloaths without working ? P. I have no other estate, besides an estate of sin and misery ; but having nothing to do, I thought I might as well put on the best cloaths I could get, and appear like a Gentleman. S. Nothing to do ! Can't you raise flax, and weave linen cloth as usual ? P. I'll be damn'd if I weave any cloth but woollens. S. You may certainly plant potatoes then, and plow and sow as usual. P. No, I will plant nothing but vines. S. You may supply the British Navy, and manufacturing sea ports, as heretofore, with Beef, Pork, and Butter. P. No, I will serve them with Sugar and Rum. S. You may, do so my dear Paddy, for you have now the privilege of a direct trade between the West-Indies and Great-Britain. P. Very true, but I will serve them with the produce of the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Danish settlements also ; and I scorn to trade to the British West-India Settlements, if I have not also the liberty of trading to the English Settlements in the East-Indies. I must tell you Sandy ; the Devil a bit of my Beef shall the English eat, unless I also furnish them with Tea,—Not a shirt shall they have to their backs, unless also, I furnish them with Silks and Cottons. S. Paddy, Paddy, you form very extensive plans, but have you a Capital sufficient, to keep so many irons in the fire ? P. O, the Devil ! The Capital !—No matter for that ; the English shall not dictate to me, what I shall do. I will do any thing, or do nothing, just as I please. As for you, Sandy, by St. Patrick, you are a pitiful fellow ; give you preaching ; give you porridge ; give you peace and plenty, and you are satisfied.

Line 802, That man is born to privileges.

(1) The only rational meaning that can be annexed to Birth-right ; is a right to be esteemed denizens of that state wherein we are born. It is not Birth-right to oppose the laws of our country ; nor to obey, or reject the laws, as are most suitable to our interests and inclinations.—Whoever, therefore claims the benefit of the laws of his country, must take them as they stand, and be obedient to the whole, as long as they remain in force.—Conscience, which (as far as the religious mode of Worship is concerned) is the result of education ; and not Birth-right, has no claim upon the Legislature, for any other indulgence, but that of a peaceable and quiet enjoyment of its religious tenets. I shall finish this note, with a remark of Harrington's, who was the author of Oceana, in his religious model of a Common-wealth. Having an eye to the limited Monarchy of England, which, in contradistinction to an absolute Monarchy,

Monarchy, he calls the noblest Common-wealth upon Earth. After observing, that there are no men; living like men; to be found, without a Government—nor any Government to be found without a National Religion; which being the publick reason, must be the publick Conscience: And that a Common-wealth, by having an Established Religion, makes a resignation of herself to God. He says, that the greater part of mankind, in matters of Religion, give themselves up to publick leading. That an established Religion, which if not coercive, ought not to be considered as a publick driving; but as a publick leading; And, that if the publick, in this case, may not lead such as desire to be led by a party, (which is the case of all Sectaries) Where would be the liberty of Conscience, as to the State? Nay, Where would be the liberty of Conscience, in respect of any party; who should think, that without taking away this liberty of publick Conscience; they have not the full enjoyment of their own? he says, that all Religions, that are not destructive of Christianity; or incorporated into any foreign interest, should be protected by, or tolerated in the State; and that whilst this general liberty of Conscience flourished; the National Religion, or publick Conscience, should not be molested.